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MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

XXXI

1931

NOV. 31—282

WITH PLATES 3-112

EDITED BY
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,
12, UPPER BEDFORD SQUARE, WENSLEY SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1
GENERAL ADVERTISING EDWARDS, 411, 43, HICK STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.
NEW YORK AGENTS: GEORGE W. E. STUBBS & Co.



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ERRATA.

Page 83, for Fig. 3 read Fig. 4.

Page 202, line 34, second column, for A. A. Crabtree read W. A. CRABTREE.

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C

B

A

THREE VIEWS OF AN IVORY EWER WITH IRON MOUNTS FROM BENIN, WEST AFRICA.
PRESENTED BY THE CHRISTY TRUSTEES TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI.

1931.

All communications printed in MAN are signed or initialled by their authors, and the Council of the Institute desires it to be understood that in giving publicity to them it accepts no responsibility for the opinions or statements expressed.

Articles published in MAN should be quoted by the year and the reference-number of the article, not by the page-reference: e.g., the article which begins on page 2 should be quoted as MAN, 1931, 2.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate A.

Africa, West.

Joyce.

An Ivory Ewer from Benin in the British Museum. *By T. A. Joyce,* 1
M.A. (With Plate A.)

The Benin collection in the British Museum has lately been enriched by the gift of an ivory ewer, presented by the Christy Trustees. The specimen consists of a section of elephant tusk, admirably shaped, and furnished with a well-fitting ivory base. The ivory encloses an iron lining, which is prolonged above the mouth of the ivory jacket to form an everted lip, and an iron foot also everted, has been added at the base. At the side is a wooden handle in rococo style. The entire exterior surface of the ivory is covered with designs carved in rounded relief. These designs are arranged in two horizontal bands, separated by a band of interlaced pattern, with a second band of interlaced-work at the base of the ewer. In the upper register are represented, from left to right, a cat-fish, a centipede, a frog, a two-headed bird, and a fish. In the lower register, an elephant's head, a crocodile seizing a fish, and a grazing antelope. The double-headed bird and the elephant's head provide excellent examples of that tendency to symmetry exhibited by the decorative artist of all times, a symmetry in many cases dictated, and certainly encouraged, by the limited machinery of the primitive loom. The elephant's head is viewed from above, the tusks and ears have been curtailed to fit the space, and the trunk has been split in two diverging sections, each terminating in a human hand which holds a branch.

Both as regards form and the spacing of the ornament, the specimen exhibits very high artistic qualities, and is, I believe, unique. It was probably carved soon after the Portuguese began to extend their influence over the West Coast of Africa, in the sixteenth century. The shape suggests European influence, which may also be indicated by the tendency to symmetrization noted above. But the native artist, while accepting certain suggestions, has turned them to his own use, and has preserved his style in native purity. The handle is obviously a later addition.

In the first place it is European of a later date; in the second, its lower extremity has been "sunk" into the middle of a very charming relief representing a bird eating a snake, an offence which the original carver would certainly not have perpetrated. The ewer measures 9.2 inches in height. T. A. JOYCE.

Sociology.

Raglan.

The Meaning of the Word "Family." *By the Rt. Hon. Lord Raglan.*

2

In "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," p. 54, occurs the following direction to observers:—

"Family—This term should be limited to the group consisting of a man, his wife (or wives) and their dependant children, own or adopted."

It is common among savages for a man to have wives in different villages, and these wives are not considered to be, and in fact are not, members of the same social group. We will therefore discuss this definition as if "or wives" were omitted, and refer to family in this sense as "family (A)."

The first thing we note is that in English the word is never used specifically in this sense. It is commonly used (1) for persons bearing the same surname and descended from a common ancestor (kin); (2) for persons usually but not necessarily related and living in the same house; (3) for a man's wife and children; and (4) for a group or species. We further note that the family (A) is not recognized by our law. There are many laws affecting the relations of husbands to wives and parents to children, but when relatives are grouped, *e.g.* for purposes of inheritance or succession, it is the kin which is recognized (next of kin).

It appears then that the family (A) is unknown both to the English language and the law of England.

The word "family" is derived from the Latin "familia," which is translated as "the whole number of slaves belonging to one master." In Latin there is no word for family (A), though we find "domus," "house, household" and "gens," "clan, kin."

The French word "famille" is a general term. So far as it has a specific meaning it is "clan, kin" and is certainly not family (A).

The German word "Familie" is a general term, but there is a specific word "Stamm" for "clan."

In Arabic there are a number of words for tribe or clan, but no word for family (A). The words usually translated "family" are "ahl" and "‘a ila." The former is a community of any kind. The latter, literally "the poor ones," is a conventional term of self-depreciation.

In such savage languages as I have any knowledge of, there are words for clan, but not for family (A).

Whether there are words for family (A) in any other languages I do not know, and it is unsafe to look up such a vague word as "family" in a dictionary.

Prof. Malinowski (MAN, 1930, 17) tells us that the family (A) "is of fundamental importance," and that "the clan always grows out of the family." In that case we should expect to find in all languages a simple word for family (A), with a word for clan derived from it. What we do usually find is a simple word for clan, and no word for family (A) at all.

Rivers (*Social Organization*) defines family as family (A), and dilates upon its importance, but he is not altogether consistent, for he sometimes uses the word in a looser sense. By using the term "family system" for what is usually known as the descriptive system of relationship terms he seems to confine the family (A) as an institution to those (mostly civilized) communities who use the descriptive system.

There are, however, reasons other than linguistic which may lead one to doubt whether the family (A) is really an institution at all, and whether the clan, which is undoubtedly an institution, could possibly have been derived from it. The characteristics of an institution are that it is permanent and regular, and, within the limits of its sphere, inevitable and universal. These are the characteristics of the clan. A person who is born into a clan is compelled to live and die in the clan, and to conform to all the laws and customs affecting the life of the clan.

With the family it is very different. At no time does the majority of a community belong to a family (A). Those who do so belong consist solely of married couples with children below the age of puberty and their children, and of these only if they live together and if they are not members of a larger household. The average person does not belong to a family (A) for more than half his life, and then not to the same family all the time. Many people never belong to a family (A) at all.

That an institution so rigid, so comprehensive, and so important to the community as the clan system could have grown out of a group so fluid, so partial, and so unimportant to the community as the family (A) is to me inconceivable.

In his admirable accounts of the Trobriand Islands Prof. Malinowski shows us—the clan growing out of the family (A)? Quite the reverse. What he shows us is an incipient idea of family life struggling against an ancient and highly organized clan system.

I conclude that the editors of "Notes and Queries" are wrong in defining the word family as they do, for the following reasons:—

(1) The definition conflicts with the ordinary uses of the word.

(2) They limit its use to a group which in most societies is socially unimportant, and in some does not exist at all.

(3) They forbid one to write—"In accordance with custom, the sheikh was "succeeded by the eldest member of his family, his nephew X," but do not suggest a substitute.

(4) One has continually to ask oneself whether one's author is using the word in the strict sense or not. I have looked through several articles in *J.R.A.I.* without finding one in which the word is used consistently.

(5) They have therefore added one to that class of unfortunate words, of which "law" and "primitive" are conspicuous examples, whose ambiguous use leads to loose thinking and faulty reasoning.

RAGLAN.

Britain: Religion.

Dobson.

Primitive Figures on Churches. *By Mrs. Dina Portway Dobson.*

In MAN, 1930, 8, I suggested that if the carvers of fertility figures on churches desired to depict females they would certainly include the sexual organs in their representation. Since then two carvings have come to my notice kindly photographed for me by Professor Fawcett, F.R.S., which amply bear this out. The first is on the north external wall of the Church of Oaksey, which stands about six miles S.S. West of Cirencester. The figure is obviously of different stone from its surroundings, for the north wall is much restored. The figure is about ten feet above the ground, and is, approximately, fifteen inches high. As will be seen, the breasts are pendulous, and the external genitalia extremely exaggerated, while the rest of the trunk is very thin, so that there is no suggestion of pregnancy. The outline of the figure is somewhat obscured by the lichen which has overgrown it.

The second figure is at Ampney Saint Peter, which is two miles east of Cirencester. The lady in this case is inside the church, on the south wall of the nave, looking into the south aisle, and is about seven feet from the ground and 15 inches

high. The breasts in this case are placed high and are those of a woman who has not borne a child. The clearly marked division between the ribs and the general proportions of what is left of the figure do not exclude the possibility that pregnancy was indicated. The legs are small and insignificant, the lower part of the figure has been seriously defaced by breaking, yet the outline of the external genitalia is quite clearly traceable. The attitude is practically the same as that of the Oaksey figure. In writing of this church Professor Baldwin-Brown considers that the carving may well be of Saxon origin; and this is likely to be the case because the church itself is built on Saxon proportions, and its neighbour Ampney-Crucis has Saxon work still remaining, while there is a Saxon carved stone also at Somerford Keynes, only about seven miles away, and but two miles from Oaksey. Abson, which possesses the male figure illustrated in the former article, is also only about twenty miles south-



FIG. 1.—OAKSEY.



FIG. 2.—AMPNEY SAINT PETER.

west of Cirencester, so that there seems to be a little pocket of these figures just south of the Cotswold Hills. The complete nudity of the figures and the emphasis on the sexual organs, and, furthermore, their general style, differentiate them completely from the usual mediæval figure sculptures, even when these are designedly coarse. A general resemblance between these ladies and the *graffiti* to be seen on the stones from one Roman site in Southern England, and attributed to the native element in the population, has been remarked by one scholar, and may be worth pursuing.

It is impossible to base any conclusions on so few of these figures. How they have survived is a miracle. If more are recorded it will be interesting, and possibly may throw some light on the survival of primitive magic through the various conquests that this region has undergone.

DINA PORTWAY DOBSON.

Ireland: Religion.

Lawlor.

Two Typical Irish "Sheela-na-gigs." By H. C. Lawlor, M.R.I.A.

4

In the September issue of 1923 (86, Murray and Passmore) and in that of August 1929 (99, Murray and Martin) and in that of January 1930 (8, Dobson) are notes on what may be best generally classed under the term "Fertility Figures" used by Murray and Martin.

The term "sheela-na-gig" has no etymological meaning and is an absurd name; still any Irish archæologist knows the class of figure to which it applies, and it is now generally adopted for want of something better. The Irish examples, so far as my experience goes, are all female figures exceedingly ugly and grotesque, and usually showing the hands employed in—shall I say "manipulating"—the organ



FIG. 1



FIG. 2.

of fertility. Of the examples referred to in the notes above cited, that at Oaksey (1923, 86) distinctly comes within the class to which the name sheela-na-gig applies and it is very interesting to find an English example showing such clear affinity with those in Ireland. The other examples illustrated, while clearly indicating association with a phallic cult, can hardly be included in what are classed in Ireland as "sheela-na-gigs." The two examples here illustrated are both from the sites of very ancient churches, which must by no means be taken as indicating Christian connection. Many of the older churches were originally successors of pre-Christian places of pagan worship,* and as no trace of a phallic cult is discoverable in early

* For a case in point see Dr. J. F. Kenney's *Sources for the early History of Ireland*, p. 358. Cell Dara, now Kildare.

Christian literature, it is, I think, probable that these figures date from the pre-Christian period, and prior to the fifth century. However, with our present knowledge, dogmatism is to be strictly avoided. Fig. 1 is about 18 in. in height; it is clearly a female figure, much weathered; the right leg, if ever there, is almost gone, but the right hand appears, after passing round the right hip, in front; the left hand lies close to it on the front of the left thigh. This grotesque carving was rescued from the fallen debris of the ruined church of Errigal Trough on the borders of Counties Tyrone and Monaghan, and is now in the Belfast Municipal Museum. Fig. 2 was found inserted on its side, in company with other quaint carvings, some face inwards, in the church ruin on White Island in Loch Erne, Co. Fermanagh.* It is now preserved there with its companions.

H. C. LAWLOR.

Folklore.

Adlard.

Corn-Customs in Gloucestershire. By Miss Eleanor M. Adlard,
Church Porch Museum, Winchcombe, near
Cheltenham. [cf. MAN 1930. 122.]

5



FIG. 1. FIG. 2.

We have two "dolts" in the little Church Porch Museum here—both made by a native of Overbury, a village near Tewkesbury, about 10 miles away (Figs. 1 and 2). The little "dolt" was made two years ago, and the larger one this last harvest; they are of different corns. Mr. Stanley, who makes these charming fandangles, apparently has no idea of their significance: he says he did it with other boys in the harvest fields at Beckford when he was young. One hangs in the porch at Overbury Church, and this he made for a Harvest Festival; so evidently the underlying idea is still there.

ELEANOR M. ADLARD.

Ancient Mines.

Davies.

The Ancient Mines of Laurium in Attica. By Oliver Davies, M.A.

6

It has often been supposed that the mines of Laurium go back to Mycenaean times†, and are connected with the prehistoric site of Thoricus, which starts in the Middle Helladic period. No evidence has, however, yet been found of such early working, and the probabilities are against it. It was usual in the bronze and early iron ages in Greece to smelt the ore inside a town, probably for reasons of security, and slag has been found in many early settlements, such as Vardaroftsa,‡ Athens,§ Mycenae,|| and Sparta.¶ As Thoricus is eminently a position chosen for defence, and as no slag apparently has been found there, it is probable that the working of the mines did not start till the late eighth or seventh century B.C.

* For full details, see article in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1930, Part 1, by Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry and the Rev. Canon McKenna, P.P., M.R.I.A.

† *E.g. de Launay, Ann. des Mines* ix. 16 (1899) 5.

‡ *Ann. Brit. School Athens* xxviii, 197.

§ I have found considerable evidence of prehistoric copper working on the Acropolis, and fragments of crucibles of early or middle Helladic date.

|| *B.S.A.*, XXV., 37. Tsountas is also said to have found a fair amount here.

¶ Apparently unpublished, and communicated to me by Mr. A. M. Woodward, formerly Director of the British School of Archaeology in Athens. I also have found iron slag on the site.

It is usually thought that Laurium finally closed down in the first century A.D., when Strabo* says that the only operations being conducted were the resmelting of the old slag; while Pausanias† mentions the mines in his day as completely deserted. Ardaillon‡ just mentions some fifth-century finds. It is, however, probable that in the later Roman empire, owing to western sources being no longer available in the eastern world, a serious attempt was made to exploit the mines of the Balkans, and that a number of the mines mentioned by Jung§ in inner Macedonia were opened about this time.

Mr. Tzortzadhis of Cythrus recently gave me a lamp, now in the Ashmolean Museum, from a mining gallery near Sunium. Mr. Walters of the British Museum kindly informs me that it is of Christian type of the fourth or fifth century A.D. The border of the design is composed of conventional Greek patterns, each one stamped separately and sometimes irregularly. In the centre is a rudely scratched picture; a man, full-face and apparently wearing a loin-cloth, has his left arm outstretched at the throat of a beast, perhaps a lion, which is springing at him; above the man's head is a cross, and near the spout what may be a palm-branch. Mr. Walters suggests that the whole may be an arena scene.

Mr. Tzortzadhis also informed me that medieval coins had been found in some of the galleries. Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity of seeing these.

It seems thus that several attempts were made to reopen the mines after the classical period, and in the later Roman empire they were perhaps working for some time. Unfortunately we do not know whether only the lead ores were still exploited, or whether some attempt was made also to work the iron and zinc. Cordella|| says that in the north part of the region some iron slag was found without lead, and from the time of the Roman empire brass was in general use. But it is probably safer to think that silver was then as always the main attraction.

O. DAVIES.

Palæolithic.

Reid Moir.

A Hand-Axe from the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay. *By J. Reid Moir.* **7**

As is widely known, there has, of late years, been got together a very large body of evidence to show that the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay of East Anglia, representing the Third Glacial Period of this part of the country, was laid down towards the close of the Early Mousterian, palæolithic, epoch. Though this boulder clay is to be met with in various places in Suffolk, there is no area where it is more typical, or where it can be studied more easily, than in the numerous pits sunk into the plateau to the north of Ipswich. I may say that, as I live in this area, I am very familiar with the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay, in which I have dug extensively, and have studied over a number of years. At a distance of 316 yards north-east of my house, and immediately to the north of a roadway branching from Henley Road on the east side, and leading to Grove Cottages, is a small, and now disused pit in intensely chalky boulder clay. Where this excavation is situated the level of the surface of the ground is 150 feet above the sea, and the boulder clay, which exhibits no signs of decalcification, reaches to within a few inches of this surface. An examination of the deposit shows it to be not only typical boulder clay, containing erratics, Kimmeridgian detritus, and a great abundance of chalk, but also to be in its original position, and undisturbed. The clay is clearly part of the great expanse forming the upper part of the plateau to the north of Ipswich, and of that exposed to a depth of some 16 feet in a pit about 100 yards to the north-

* 399. † I. I. I. ‡ Ardaillon *Mines de Laurium*, p. 164.

§ Jung. *Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, X., 75. || *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XIX., 238.

east of the disused excavation in question.* In the early days of this month (November, 1930), my gardener, Arthur Jacobs, whom I have employed for a considerable time, was making a trench in some allotments which adjoin the latter pit. While engaged upon this work, which was being carried out but a few yards from the edge of the excavation, he dug out of the solid boulder clay, at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, the hand-axe which it is the purpose of this note to describe.

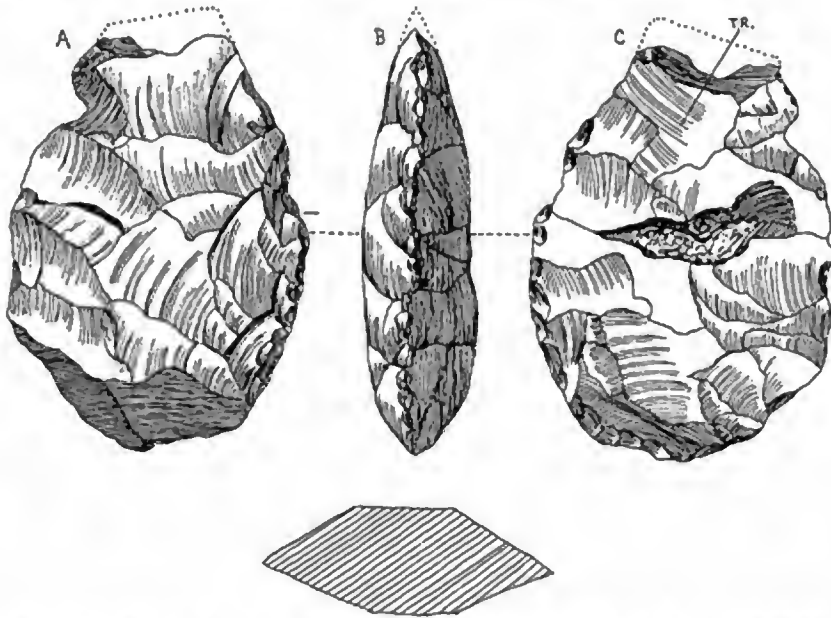


FIG. 1.—VIEWS (A, B, C,) AND SECTION OF AN EARLY MOUSTERIAN HAND-AXE FROM THE UPPER CHALKY BOULDER CLAY, IPSWICH: T.R.=tranchet-like blow. $\frac{1}{2}$ SCALE.

The specimen was found in two pieces which were lying about 15 inches from each other, and an examination of them shows that the breakage, which is clearly ancient, was brought about by thermal action operating along a line of weakness in the flint, and that the fracturing took place, without much doubt, during the actual deposition of the boulder clay. To anyone familiar with the humanly-flaked flints from the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay to the north of Ipswich, it is clear that the specimen under description is quite typical of those found in this deposit. The details of the implement are as follows:—

Type.—Early Mousterian hand-axe. Material, flint. Colour, greyish-black, no glaze or patination. Condition, unabraded, a few ancient strations, and three other "chatter" marks, associated with ferruginous markings, and due to the metal tool which was used to dislodge the two halves of the specimen from the boulder clay. Flaking, except for two recent flake-scars produced during the digging out of the flint—all of one period. Greatest length, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. Greatest width, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. Greatest thickness, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Approximate weight, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.

The flint implements found in boulder clay have, of course, all been derived from other, and older deposits torn up by the glacier in its advance, and, in East Anglia, have been discovered certain sites where these deposits have escaped destruction, and have been shown to contain artifacts such as occur in the boulder clay which overlies them. These pre-Upper Chalky Boulder Clay beds usually take the form of brickearth, such as have been excavated and studied at Bolton & Co.'s

* *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* Vol. IV, 1920. January to June, pp. 135–152.

brickfield, Ipswich,* Hoxne,† and High Lodge.‡ In each of these cases the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay surmounts the brickearth, and in this latter deposit, at Hoxne and High Lodge, have been found hand-axes of precisely the same type and workmanship as are exhibited by the specimen described in this note.

I would draw especial attention to a hand-axe discovered by me at Hoxne, in an Early Mousterian "floor" at the base of the brickearth underlying the glacial bed laid down by the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay glaciation.§ This specimen, though somewhat smaller, is, in other respects, almost a duplicate of that found recently at Ipswich. It exhibits the same kind of flake-scars, is unpatinated, and its narrower end has been formed by a *tranchet*-like blow (compare with T.R., Fig. 1c). Similar hand-axes have been discovered in the brickearth at High Lodge, and are to be referred to the same cultural period as that in which the specimen here described, was made. It may in fact now be said to be established that the Early Mousterian period in East Anglia was succeeded by the Third Glaciation of that area, and that, *in situ* in the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay which was then laid down, derived flint implements of the Early Mousterian epoch have been unearthed.

The specimen described in this note is on exhibition in the Museum, High Street, Ipswich.

J. REID MOIR.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Pacific.

Hocart.

Spirit Worshippers of the South Seas. By A. M. Hocart.

8

The Second Open Popular Lecture delivered this winter, on behalf of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in the Polytechnic Hall, Little Titchfield Street, W. 1, described the geography and races of the Solomon Islands, and especially of Eddystone Island and its special types.

The dominant interest of these people may be described as spirit-worship. The spirits are mainly the souls of the dead; their assistance is secured by shrines, and by capturing the souls. But this constant intercourse with the dead does not betoken a morbid mind. Familiarity breeds ease and accounts for the "picknicky" spirit of their worship. Burnt offerings are made and conversation is carried on by divination. Spirits are the cause of illness; and every man is a physician. This belief in spirits pervades everything; it is consequently necessary to take it into account in our dealings with the people. All sign of contempt must be avoided, by carefully understanding their position. Their religion is strictly logical; only their knowledge is inadequate; it is not a bad effort considering the information at hand. They have, however, driven their theory to death; and this has made it so fundamental, that any attack on it would shake the whole social order. For spirits are concerned with morality; they are protectors of property, through taboos and their sanctions. Consequently there is danger in discrediting a taboo as in any failure of respect for native customs.

There are, of course, difficulties in practice, *e.g.*, as to head hunting which, in spite of its unsporting character, is so popular that apathy and despondency have been caused by its suppression, leading to suspicion and anti-European feeling. In dealing with these problems there is danger of sentimentalism. We must make up our minds what we want, and then think out the means dispassionately.

Other lectures in this series are announced on the cover of MAN for January, 1931, p. 4.

* *Proc. P.S.E.A.* Vol. III, pt. 4. Pp. 559-579.

† *Proc. P.S.E.A.* Vol. V, pt. 2. Pp. 137-165.

‡ *Proc. P.S.E.A.* Vol. III, pt. 3. Pp. 353-379.

§ *Proc. P.S.E.A.* Vol. V, pt. 2. Pp. 137-165. (Figs. 6A and 6B.)

Africa.

Reck.

The Oldoway Skeleton from Tanganyika Territory. By Dr. HansReck. [Summary: to be published in full in *J.R.A.I.*]

9

Dr. Hans Reck has contributed to the Royal Anthropological Institute an important study of the well-known "Oldoway skeleton" found in the northern part of Tanganyika Territory shortly before the outbreak of the Great War. His paper was presented on 25th November by Mr. A. T. Hopwood of the British Museum of Natural History. In the Oldoway geological series are seven horizons; a basaltic lava; sub-aerial volcanic tuff with white rhinoceros bones considerably altered; a fossiliferous bed with human remains, laid down in still water; a red earthy layer, root infested and therefore quite undisturbed; then a recurrence of the fossiliferous layer; followed by sub-aerial erosion and wind borne deposits graded to loess; and finally a superficial calcareous sinter, common in modern arid conditions. The fossiliferous bed contained a variety of *Elephas antiquus*, a species previously only known from Europe, and in the Nerbudda deposits as *E. namadicus*. This *E. antiquus Recki* has been amply described by Dietrich from the remains of twelve individuals. Therewith and also in the recurrent deposit above it, as hippopotamus, but above the denuded unconformity were horses and antelopes, characteristic of modern high-steppe fauna. The series thus throws no light on the ancestry of *Elephas africanus*. A second surprise is the unfamiliar aspect of the post-pluvial antelope fauna, including *Pelorovis oldowayensis*, a gigantic buffalo-like creature with spreading horns, intermediate between antelope and sheep. The region must have remained favourable to pleistocene forms in spite of climatic changes elsewhere.

The Oldoway skeleton itself was found in the lower division, below the red layer, and in the horizon of *E. antiquus Recki*. Its proximity to the modern surface is explained by subsequent earth-movements, and the rapid erosion of gorge-sides in the modern rain season. The reddish earthy matrix showed vague sedimentary structure. The body lay in a contracted position, on its back, with the right arm beneath the trunk: a position which might be assumed if a person in a squatting position were laid on his back. This squatting position is natural in tropical Africa, both in sleep and in death; but there are signs that this corpse was bound up deliberately. There are no signs of a grave, still less of disturbance of the overlying strata.

The human bones, unlike the animal remains, were not highly mineralized, but this does not seem to affect the question of date. The type resembles certain early Egyptian skulls. The great height of upper and lower jaws is noteworthy. The teeth have the small pulp-cavities characteristic of *Homo sapiens*: the incisors are artificially shaped, not in African but in proto-Malay fashion, horizontally.

Dr. Reck is now inclined to correlate the Oldoway find with the type found by Mr. Leakey at Elementeita, further north in the Rift Valley, though he differs from Mr. Leakey on the chronology because only one pluvial period is represented at Oldoway; and he doubts the possibility of correlating African and European deposits chronologically, however similar in cultural type. At present "correlation between Oldoway and Kenya rests entirely on man": the fauna cannot be correlated yet; though the Oldoway fauna agrees with that of Kaiso on Lake Albert. More and thorough field work is required.

Mr. Leakey detects unconformity between the sixth and fifth beds of the Oldoway series, suggestive of a temporary land-surface. His own "Gamblian" fauna comes from the top of the series at the bottom of which Dr. Reck's fauna lies. It was a long period, and difference of altitude has also to be taken into account in comparing these fauna. He is inclined to equate the Oldoway bone-bed with the upper part of his "Gamblian": otherwise Oldoway man, with artificial teeth

deformation, would have to be equated rather with a Chellean or Acheulian than with an Upper Palæolithic horizon. But the possibility remains that Oldoway man may not belong to the horizon in which he lay.

There is prospect that Dr. Reck may be able to revisit the site with Mr. Leakey in the near future, to clear up outstanding points in this important problem.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

Africa :

Seligman.

The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures:
Eighth Meeting of the Executive Council. By Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. **10**

The eighth meeting of the Executive Council of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures was held in Rome by the invitation of the Italian Government at the beginning of October. The meetings took place in the Ministry for the Colonies and the session was opened by General de Bono, the Minister for the Colonies, in the presence of the diplomatic representatives of the states represented on the Executive Council. Subsequently the delegates were entertained to an official luncheon.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard, Chairman of the Executive Council, presided at the meetings and among those present were Father Schmidt, Professor C. Conti Rossini, Professor Béguinot, Professor Lévy-Bruhl, Professor C. G. Seligman, Colonel Derendinger, Professor de Jonghe, Professor Van der Kerken, Father Dubois, Mr. J. H. Oldham, Rev. E. W. Smith, Professor Westermann (Director), Professor Labouret (Director), Mr. Hanns Vischer (Secretary-General). The Council decided to hold a congress in Paris in the autumn of 1931 at the invitation of the French authorities in connection with the International Colonial Exhibition and also discussed plans for the extension of its work of study and research in Africa.

His Holiness the Pope received the delegates at a special audience, when he expressed his great interest in the work of the Institute and his hopes of what it might achieve for Africa. In the course of its session the members of the Council visited the Pontifical Missionary and Ethnological Museum at the Lateran Palace, where they had the opportunity of meeting members of the congregations represented in the Conférence des Missions Catholiques en Afrique à Rome, which is represented on the Governing Body of the Institute. The various exhibits were explained to the members of the Council by Father Schmidt, the scientific director, and his assistants, Father Schulien and Father Maarschalkerweerd. The members of Council also took part in an excursion to Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, where they were shown over by Professor Paribeni, after which a visit was paid to the Villa d'Este. The next meeting of the Council will be held in Paris in May, 1931.

C. G. S.

REVIEWS.

Aegean : Archæology.

Evans.

The Palace of Minos. Vol. III. 11
 By Sir Arthur Evans. Pp. 525
 + 9 folding plans, 13 coloured plates and
 11 supplementary plates. London: Mac-
 millan, 1930. £5 5s.

The third instalment of Sir Arthur Evans' great work on the oldest civilized site on European soil fully maintains the high standard of its precursors both in luxury and interest. It is needless to

dwell on the gorgeous coloured plates, the plans and other aids to a revivification of Minoan life that Sir Arthur lavishes upon the reader with his accustomed prodigality. But attention must be drawn to the remarkable accuracy with which the figures are always introduced precisely at the apposite point in the text. Only an experienced author can judge of the time and labour therein involved. And yet what a boon it is to the reader!

The interest of the present volume is supplied very largely by digressions which allow free scope to the author's versatile and many-sided scholarship. The text for these fascinating and instructive digressions is provided in most instances by the frescoes, coloured reproductions of which are given. It may be well incidentally to insist on the reliability of the reconstructions. Though, as a rule, only minute fragments survive, a close study of the figures, where the original pieces are always distinguishable, will convince anyone that the restoration offered is correct. Moreover, a striking proof of the accuracy of such reconstructions is detailed here: a reconstitution of the "Shield Fresco" was found to fill the space actually available for it on the ruined walls with a deficiency of only 7 millimetres in 6.22 metres.

Turning to the contents of the work, an account of the Miniature Frescoes involves an illuminating disquisition of several aspects of Minoan life, including the position of women, and leads on to a fresh analysis of the famous silver rhyton from Mycenae depicting siege scenes. Next an exquisite painting on rock crystal is published for the first time. It calls for a re-examination of the technique of the inlaid dagger blades from Mycenae that throws fresh light on the skill and ingenuity of Minoan smiths and on the Egyptian relations of Minoan art. In a foot note to p. 119 we are reminded how the decoration of one dagger hilt with tiny gold nails recurs in the Bronze Age of Britain.

Some fragments of reliefs in painted stucco of bull-grappling scenes, interesting enough in themselves, give occasion for a new account of the Vapheio cups, a general excursus on taurokathapsia and some novel and very convincing arguments for the high dating of the "Atreus tomb" at Mycenae. Another section describes the Minoans' advances in hydraulic engineering. The latest discoveries at Ur are here cited as supplying further evidence of Crete's indebtedness to Sumerian civilization. Other sections are devoted to the "Shield Frescoes" with an appreciation of their religious import, to the Boston Goddess and a beautiful Boy God, regarded as a companion piece, to a second series of striking stucco reliefs and to some astonishing traces of a gigantic female image of wood. But a brief and incomplete catalogue of headings such as this can give no idea either of the wealth of new material here published or of the genial erudition with which it is interpreted and reanimated. Each excursus is, in fact, a monograph of universal interest that any archaeological journal would be proud to publish, and that concerns specialists in the most

diverse spheres. The fourth volume will be awaited with still greater eagerness.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

Burial Rites.

Bendann.

Death Customs. An Analytical Study of Burial Rites. By Miss E. Bendann. The History of Civilization Series. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1930. pp. xiv + 304. Price 12s. 6d.

Miss Bendann's book is introduced to the anthropological public by Dr. A. Goldenweiser as an analytical study of burial rites. The author confirms our expectation of a new method by rejecting the purely historical and comparative methods, and the deductive and psychological methods as insufficient in themselves, and criticizes their representatives from Spencer and Tylor down to Rivers. It must be confessed that her polemics would be more convincing if couched in plain and concrete English. A liberal use or misuse of such apparently scientific terms as "cultural," "collective socialized product," "specific attitude," etc., conceal from the author herself the vagueness of the thought. Her argument against diffusion for instance suggests a mist of concepts rolling over a rock of facts. She states that Melanesia, Australia, India, the Israelitish regions, Rome, America, and Japan, are areas representing entirely different cultural development "where diffusion is not at all probable." Is the author unaware that Bengalee is akin to Latin? That speakers of Sanskrit founded kingdoms in Sumatra and Java, Malay speaking islands? That the Malay and Melanesian languages are related? That the Malays have visited the north coast of Australia? That the Javanese were once Buddhists and now profess a religion which occupies the Israelitish regions? That both Greek and Indian influence have been traced as far as Japan? A chain of diffusion from Rome to Fiji is not only not improbable, but is a fact. A kind of Monroe doctrine alone prevents American anthropologists from so much as considering the evidence for relations between America and Asia.

The author has very wisely confined herself to the portions of the globe enumerated plus Eastern Siberia. We are, however, disappointed in our hope that this limitation will lead to a more intensive treatment. Miss Bendann blames Frazer for drawing "from heterogeneous sources," Spencer for taking "illustrations from all over the world, without looking for historical succession." Miss Bendann does exactly what she complains of. Her drawing from a limited area does not make her sources

less "heterogeneous" or introduce "historical succession." Her procedure is that of Tylor and his successors, a string of instances without historical background, but also without the style, the clarity, and the singleness of purpose of the pioneers. It is "the Mafulu do this," "the Yubim that," "thus they do in Ambrym, and thus in Anrora."

In one respect the author's attitude marks an advance on the majority of anthropologists. She does not despise the evidence of civilized antiquity. But neither did Frazer. However, when anthropology is so one-sidedly savage, one must be grateful to Miss Bendann for trying to lay special stress upon Vedic conceptions. I say "trying" because "laying special stress" suggests a careful study of the translations, if not of the original texts; but one cannot help doubting whether her acquaintance with the texts extends beyond the quotations sprinkled throughout the pages of Monier-Williams, Hopkins, and others.

The material is divided into various subjects such as the origin of death, the causes of death, the disposal of the dead, etc. The evidence on each subject is grouped geographically under Melanesia, Australia, and so on. Then follow the conclusions. In these we can detect no originality of method. It is simply the old way of picking up a custom, looking at it, and guessing at its origin without any historical research. One innovation we must concede: the author does not give one explanation, but anything up to eight. As these are occasionally contradictory, there follows a sense of confusion. The author constantly insists that "the dread idea" is a paramount conception relative to the death situation (why not "Dread is the dominant emotion at a death"?), yet she ascribes feasts to "the desire to take a meal with the dead and thus to establish a closer union"; mutilations are due both to the desire "to render the ghost harmless," and also to the desire "to strengthen the departed." I prefer the simplicity of the older writers.

If the explanations fail to explain, it is only fair to say the author does not believe in the inevitable sequence of cause and effect. She "takes issue" with me for saying that "if ethnology is to become a science it must postulate that the same cause cannot produce different results." She does not seem to realize that an axiom is not a thing to argue about; it is a conviction which proves itself by its results. It cannot be disposed of by such an argument as this, "Notwithstanding that the 'general attitude toward a dead body' causes the most zealous precautions to be

"taken in regard to the disposal of a corpse, yet among the Yerkla-mining 'the body of the deceased member of a community is entirely neglected.' A Melanesian's ideas are not the same as a Yerkla-mining's; the cause is different and therefore the effect is different. If the 'general attitude' does lead to 'zealous precautions' in most cases, obviously the Yerkla-mining do not share that 'general attitude.' The term 'general attitude' has not that precision which one expects of science. One has to infer from other pages that the author means fear. But she has never proved that fear is the 'general attitude.' When Rivers says that dread of the deceased is not characteristic of Melanesia (and I entirely agree with Rivers as regards the Central Solomons) the author coolly sets aside the testimony of eye-witnesses: in favour of her own preconceptions. There again it is the good old *a priori* school at work.

Anthropologists are divided into two camps, those who want to make anthropology an exact science, and those who do not. Miss Bendann belongs to the latter class. Therefore we shall look in vain to her for causes; but not in vain for a guide to the authorities on a great variety of burial rites, and ideas connected with them, on the disposal of the dead, hair-cutting, inversion, diet, and so on. I say designedly *a*, not *the*, great variety because I can find no mention of such an important form of burial as the harrow; but then our author makes no claim to be exhaustive, and it is difficult to be so when dealing with such a vast subject.

If I have dwelt mainly on the weakest point in the book, thinking it so, because the author has put it forward as her strongest, instead of basing her claims on useful and industrious compilation.

The following slips do not detract from the general accuracy. The tale of Hikuleo is not Melanesian, but Polynesian. If Miss Bendann will look up Fison's table of contents she will see that it was told by a Tongan, not a Fijian, chief. On p. 46 *Rakashoghna* for *Rakshoghna*. On p. 165 three Melanesian names are mis-spelt. These things are incidental to any vast accumulation of facts. The book is well printed and the get-up is good. A. M. HOCART.

Britain: Archaeology. Collingwood.

The Archaeology of Roman Britain. 13
By R. G. Collingwood. With
8 plates and 68 illustrations in the text.
Methuen and Co., Ltd. Price 16s. net.

The investigation of Romano-British antiquities has been one of the minor pastimes of many cultured English gentle-

men for at least three centuries. It has now become a highly specialized, though perhaps not a very important, branch of archaeological study. The relics of Roman imperialism in this country are those of military or mercantile settlers. Such relics, whatever may be their mild interest as traces of imported civilization, are not in themselves either magnificent or inspiring, and the industrious accumulation of the smaller objects can hardly be reckoned among those useful drudgeries which add greatly to knowledge. The present state of Romano-British archaeology is admirably displayed in this book. The author successfully avoids the dullness of a mere catalogue, and he presents his material in a satisfying and orderly manner, without ostentation or an overload of tedious detail. Perhaps the earlier chapters suffer a little from the process of compression necessitated by the form and purpose of the book, but the classified information about roads, camps, forts, frontier works and structural remains is of more than ordinary value. The suggested lay-out of Londinium is purely hypothetical, and it should have been stated, for the benefit of beginners, that the site itself has not produced any conclusive evidence of the street-plan. Even allowing for the necessary evil of restriction, more space might have been advantageously given to the study of tombs and the variations of burial practice in Romano-British times.

Mr. Collingwood gives a chapter on inscriptions, with a subjoined list of abbreviations, which is almost ideal for the student, and is likely to be of secret assistance to not a few of those who believe themselves expert. He deals in a happily straightforward manner with Samian ware and the coarse pottery, avoiding that vain display of minute erudition which is often so painfully intruded. Weapons, tools and utensils, on the other hand, are disposed of with alarming brevity, and many familiar things are dismissed in a few terse paragraphs, without illustration. In view of its avowed purpose as a guide for beginners, one cannot help wishing that some of the archaeological material had been more fully described and more conscientiously illustrated in this generally admirable work.

The line illustrations are excellent, but, in spite of the publisher's assurance that the book is "lavishly illustrated," there are only eight half-tone plates, and five of these are devoted to coins. There is no frontispiece. In typographical arrangement the book is unhappily conservative, and the size and placing of

the illustrations have not been well considered. The most admirable book is not a little handicapped by stereotyped methods of production, just as the most attractive person is not a little handicapped by inferior clothes, and it is greatly to be wished that publishers could take a wider view in such matters. C. E. V.

Britain: Archaeology.

Jessup.

The Archaeology of Kent. By R. F. Jessup. London. Methuen. Pp. 272. 10s. 6d. net.

14

This valuable piece of work is the result of untiring industry and zeal on the part of its author who is to be congratulated on bringing into a small compass almost all that is known about the things which the different inhabitants of Kent have made, from the earliest times to those of the Viking invaders.

In reviewing a man's work it is most important to try to appreciate his standpoint and, if it may be, to understand what he set himself to do, in order that he may not be unfairly blamed for leaving out things which his limits of space or opportunities of study told him that he could not deal with satisfactorily.

Hence, in reviewing this book for "Man," it is needful to warn one's readers that it is essentially a record of the crafts and handiwork of early Kentish men, and contains only passing and very sketchy glances of the men themselves.

Almost all the important things that men have made in the county are described and often figured, from eoliths to Richborough Castle, in a way which forces us to believe that the author is talking about things which he himself has seen and is very well able to appreciate at their true worth. They interest him deeply and thus he is able to make them interest researchers whose work lies in other branches of the records of the past.

Failing any protest strong enough to make itself heard, the title of Archaeologist is being limited more and more to those who specialize in the technique of man's handicrafts, but it must not be forgotten that there are others who might claim to be Archaeologists, too, in the broad meaning of the word, whose main interest in bygone handicraft lies in the light it throws upon the men themselves—what they were like, what they thought and how they acted. This is the side of Archaeology, if we may still call it by that name, which Mr. Jessup hardly touches or, touching, skims over in the hastiest way; nor can we blame him save that his book is called the Archaeology of Kent, when really it only deals, in however

masterly a way, with the artifacts of that county.

No doubt an example of what is meant should be given and perhaps the following may serve. Just before the War a circular trench containing the remains of Beaker folk was dug up at Broadstairs. So valuable were these skeletons that one of them is now shown as the type of a Beaker man in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, but (and this is the fly in the ointment) there were no ornaments, arms or utensils found with them. The record was duly published as was also that of other Beaker Folk at St. Margaret's Bay, but though they tell us a good deal about the landing of these people, their build and burial habits, Mr. Jessup ignores them. Since they had no goods nor chattels no place could be found for them under the new and revised definition of Archaeology.

But too much notice need not be taken of the grumbling of a retired Anatomist who would like to be an Archaeologist if he could. What does matter is that the book treats of Man's work and does it in a clear and comprehensive way, giving the history of each discovery and following up every existing find to its present museum.

Greatly interesting are the maps of the Bronze and Iron Age finds in Kent, for the author deduces from them that the Iron Age people probably used both Watling Street and the Pilgrims' Way; and yet, if the maps are superimposed, the Bronze Age finds lie along the same routes as those of the Iron Age, and therefore what is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. For this reason we must be careful to make it clear that when we speak of Watling Street as a Roman road we do not mean that it is a road which was first cut by the Romans, but one which they adapted from a trackway which probably had been in use for two thousand years before they came. One notices, by the way, that the author on most occasions does not follow Kent beyond the border of the administrative County of London, and that Mr. Vulliamy only dealt with that part of London in Middlesex. If this is so South London runs the risk of being an archaeological no-man's-land in the County Series.

The gazetteer at the end of the volume is a most useful feature and its value is increased by the list of museums where Kentish relics are stored. Would it be worth while to add the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons to this list? Many of the human remains from Kent are there and, after all, in a sense, they

are the artifacts of man. Perhaps we shall be told that human remains are not Archaeology. I wonder why?

F. G. PARSONS.

India: Ethnography.

Meyer.

Sexual Life in Ancient India.

T. T. Meyer. 2 vols. George

15

Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1930.

This interesting work is produced by the Broadway Oriental Library. We are informed in a brief introduction that the present volumes are meant to provide the student of such a work as Miss Mayo's "Mother India," with a historical background for his research. It may be permissible to express a doubt whether any oriental scholar with previous knowledge of India found anything of which he was not already aware in the pages of Miss Mayo's work. Others, who have no intimate knowledge of India and its traditions, will, it is to be feared, find these volumes difficult reading.

Professor Meyer's ripe scholarship has given us some 500 pages of extracts from the "Mahabharata," the "Ramayana," and other Indian classics, with copious and interesting notes indicating a wide knowledge of folk lore and primitive custom. So ample are the footnotes that in many places the text is reduced to comparative insignificance. In these pages we find illustrated by a wealth of anecdotes the lot of woman as a maid, bride, mother and widow, with a close study of the relations between her and her husband or lover. We read even (I p. 156) of her marriage after death, when she dies unwed, a practice common, according to Abbé Dubois, among the Nambutiri Brahmans of Madras in recent times, which has its parallel in the custom, still prevalent in the Bombay Deccan, of marrying deceased bachelors to tree spirits.

Tale follows tale revealing the early Indian conception of his peerless wife, a Draupadi or a Damayanti, the highest gift of happiness, the supreme *artha* of life, though, in a footnote (II p. 343) it is revealed that a less appreciative note has at times been uttered, the wife being described as a "leech, a devouring wear and tear." It must be admitted that, in the "Mahabharata," the standard of wifely conduct is unquestionably high. We read of a woman whose child crawled into the fire while her husband slept in her lap. Rather than disturb her spouse, she allowed the child to be burnt to death, and was rewarded for her faithfulness by the miraculous restoration of the child.

An obvious criticism of a work such as Professor Meyer's, with its wealth of scholarship, is that it does not appreciably lighten the task of the reader of "Mother India" in arriving at a correct judgment on the subject of the present-day practices described in that much discussed work. Quotations from Tennyson's "Princess" will not assist the student of our modern marriage system to arrive at the male attitude towards women as a partner in love; and it would be the most complete misunder-

standing of the modern Hindu social system, as it appears in real life, to start with an impression that, in the main, it corresponds with the ideals and standards of conduct set forth in the "Mahabharata" and the "Ramayana." We are grateful to Professor Meyer for his scholarly reproduction of tales from a distant past; but the public should be wary of deriving therefrom any conception of the true nature of the Hindu social system of the present day.

R. E. E.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Couvade.

Hornblower.

The Custom of Couvade.*To the Editor of MAN.*

SIR,—As some doubts have been raised on the source of the story of the policeman and the handcuffs in connection with the couvade, I inquired of Mr. Torday who told me that he did not obtain it from a story by Conan Doyle but from a midwife when he was studying medicine—perhaps Conan Doyle's anecdote had the same origin, he being a doctor.

Three other recent instances have been related to me as a consequence of my former letter (1930, 28) and may interest your readers. One is from London, where an attendant at an Institute told the doctor who was treating him for an internal pain, that he had probably "caught it" from his wife who was expecting a child; evidently the transference was, to his thinking, a perfectly natural phenomenon. This is also the case with the other two instances, both from the U.S.A., and both occurring among the well educated, one of the professional and one of the commercial class; they were ill and in pain some time before their wives' confinement and this was considered a natural concomitant by many in their immediate circles.

One of my correspondents made inquiries about the couvade among the Kentucky folk renowned for their conservation of old customs and songs, but could find no trace of any form of it.

Yours faithfully,

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Europe: Prehistoric. Fleure and Peake.

The Origin of the Bell-Beaker.*To the Editor of MAN.*

SIR,—We are very grateful to Professor Gordon Childe for his valuable letter on the subject of our paper, "Megaliths and Beakers," which appeared in the last number of the

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Like Professor Childe we fully realize the obscurity surrounding the origin of the bell-beakers, and readily agree with him that the difficulties in the way of accepting an eastern European origin are at present considerable, though, in our view, not so great as in the case of that from the Iberian peninsula. We hope to be able to continue our investigations, with the help of his valuable suggestions, and to record our results in your pages or in those of the *Journal* at no distant date.

H. J. FLEURE.

HAROLD J. E. PEAKE.

Europe: Prehistoric.

Marples.

The Painted Pebbles of Mas d'Azil.*To the Editor of MAN.*

SIR,—The painted pebbles of the Mas d'Azil are commonly credited with undetermined graphic values. No derived connections can be shown. Two alternative explanations suggest themselves. The first is magical, the second lyrical.

(a) Single pebbles occur, as a rule. Consequently a graphic value is discounted. The only known hoard, that of the Azil Cave, may well have been the magical stock-in-trade of "a Resident Jinn."

(b) There is a well-known custom in modern Libya which may have a cogent survival value.

The "Bag of Tales" of a Berber Story Teller contains a number of pebbles of no apparent value, but full of significance to the owner. As each pebble is withdrawn, in turn, the associated tale is well and truly told.

It may not be commonly known that a set of ten Painted Pebbles, given to the British Museum by the Abbé Brouil, is illustrated in the *British Museum Quarterly*. Vol. IV, No. 1 (1929), Plate vii.

Yours truly,

E. A. MARPLES.



(a)

FIG. 1.

(b)



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

SCULPTURED FIGURES FROM VERA CRUZ STATE, MEXICO.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 19-40.

FEBRUARY, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate B.

Mexico.

Knox.

Sculptured Figures from Vera Cruz State, Mexico. By T. A. Joyce **19**
and H. A. Knox.

The photographs herewith were taken by Mr. H. A. Knox during a shooting expedition in the State of Vera Cruz in Mexico, twenty miles up the river from Tonale. While his carriers were cutting a path through bush, they struck stonework, and when a larger area had been cleared, the carved slab and statues were exposed. As the clearing will soon be overgrown, the spot will be difficult to identify; but Mr. Knox hopes to return to the district and recover these curious objects. They are published now for record. The sketch is based on a photograph.



T. A. JOYCE: H. A. KNOX.

International Congress.

Myres.

International Congress and Institut International: An Interim Report of Recent Negotiations. By Professor J. L. Myres, President of **20**
the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Under the title *Anthropology, National and International*, I laid before the Fellows of the Institute, as my Presidential Address in January, 1930, a retrospect of the provisions made both before and after the War for international meetings of anthropologists, and I welcomed, rather prematurely, an agreement by which the Institut International d'Anthropologie, a society registered under French law, with permanent office and *siège social* in Paris, undertook, by agreement with survivors of the "permanent committee" of the last pre-war Congress (held at Geneva in 1912), to "assure the continuity" of this older series of Congresses by convening a "Fifteenth Congress" in Portugal in September, 1930, concurrently with its own "Fourth Session."*

Now the pre-war Congresses, which go back, at various intervals, to 1865, had a fully international organization of a well-known and well-tried model, providing (among other matters) that the president and organizing committee shall be of the country where a Congress is to be held; that there shall be a general assembly of

* The French agreement runs as follows:—*que la continuité de ce Congrès soit assurée par les soins de l'Institut.*

all members of the Congress to determine the next place of meeting, elect officials; and so forth.

It was therefore to the general surprise, that the official announcement of the XVth Congress in Portugal was published over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the *Institut* (who, under French law, must have domicile in Paris) and that the only *assemblées générales* announced in the programme were limited to holders of tickets of membership in that *Institut*. Members of the Congress in Portugal who did not also subscribe to the Paris *Institut* were thereby deprived of all voice in the affairs or the future of the Congress. The *Institut* had, in fact, swallowed the Congress, leaving only its distinguished name to adorn the title page of the report to be published eventually by the *Institut*.

When the Congress met at Coimbra, these remarkable arrangements provoked general resentment; especially when it was learned that, quite at the beginning of the meetings, an *assemblée générale* of the *Institut* had accepted an invitation to hold its next session at the projected Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931. After much informal discussion, a hastily convened *assemblée générale*, open to all members of the Congress, met at Oporto. It was too late to reopen the question, where the next session should be held, though it was known that two other countries were prepared to hold a Congress; but it was agreed (1) that the "XVth Congress" should be adjourned till the date of the Paris session of the *Institut*; and (2) that the relations between the Congress and the *Institut* should meanwhile be considered by the survivors of the "permanent committee" of the Geneva Congress of 1912 (who had surrendered the Congress to the *Institut* in October, 1928), together with the President of the *Institut*, the President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and any other persons who might be co-opted by this "little committee."

I should have preferred to have no further dealings with the Paris *Institut*, not only on account of its treatment of the Congress, which I had foreseen and done my best to forestall (*Anthropology National and International*, pp. 43-44), but because of the practical difficulty of eliciting any answers at all to our Institute's official letters to the *Institut's* office, ever since the Congress at Amsterdam in 1927. But with the concurrence of our Council I agreed to take part in this enquiry.

Accordingly I attended a meeting of the "little committee" in Paris on December 22, 1930. The President of the *Institut*, M. Louis Marin, had prepared a most hospitable reception; but the party was a small one. Besides myself, only M. Verneau, though seriously unwell, accepted his invitation; and M. Papillault, the Secretary of the *Institut*, was in attendance. Letters, however, had been received from other members of the "permanent committee," of which the essential phrases were as follows:—

M. Boule (one of the signatories of the agreement of October, 1928):—"la seule solution possible et juste est de revenir purement et simplement aux belles et nobles traditions d'autrefois, c'est à dire de reprendre l'ancien Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques."

M. le Marquis de Baye:—"j'exprime le voeu ardent pour que la commission trouve le meilleur accord, le plus rapidement possible, en respectant les traditions des anciens Congrès, et qu'elle soit l'émanation de l'esprit scientifique avant tout."

M. Deonna:—. . . "il faut reconstituer le Congrès international comme jadis, le Congrès étant, comme autrefois, itinérant."

M. le Baron de Loë:—. . . "je vote pour le rétablissement et le reorganisation de l'ancien Congrès international d'A. et d'A. préh. avec son caractère itinérant, chaque pays choisi devenant le maître de l'organisation du Congrès fixé."

M. Pittard (President of the Congress at Geneva in 1912):—. . . "Ayant questionné un certain nombre de membres du dernier congrès, que je suis obligé de considérer comme mes mandants, je me suis rallié à la proposition de maintenir

" le Congrès indépendant. Nous pouvons donc supposer maintenant le Congrès " maintenu, reprenant vie, se reconstituant, administrativement d'abord, scientifiquement ensuite. Il y aurait donc deux organismes en présence, l'I.I.A. et le " dit Congrès . . ." [and he proceeds to discuss their eventual relations after the separation which he contemplates as necessary.]

M. Verneau, on the other hand, the other signatory of the agreement of October, 1928, regarded the whole question as closed by that agreement, and desired no changes.

M. Marin agreed in principle with M. Verneau, but offered to consider suggestions for the conduct of future Congresses, and even for giving to the *Institut* a more fully international constitution. It would, however, be matter for careful enquiry whether the French law regulating the constitution of societies with *siège social* in France would permit all that might be desired.

After long discussion, I decided to insist on the total separation of the management of the Congress from that of the *Institut*. It did not seem to me to be within the competence of any foreigner who is not himself a member of the *Institut*, nor of any foreign society such as ours, to suggest to an institution incorporated under French law, how it should conduct its affairs. At most, we are free to declare ourselves satisfied (or not) that such an institution has (or has not) fully international character. And I saw no prospect that any changes, even if they are found to be practicable, or desirable from the point of view of the *Institut*, could be made in time to affect the decision of the adjourned Congress in the course of 1931. So, as it was evidently the opinion of the majority of the survivors of the " permanent committee " that the agreement which its representatives had made in October, 1928, had been a mistake, I strongly recommended that the Congress should be once more separated from the *Institut*, and resume independent activity.

At this first meeting the question, whether the " little committee " should co-opt other persons, was not discussed; and I think this was right. It was clearly necessary to begin by ascertaining whether, in the opinion of those who had been longest and most intimately concerned, any kind of further co-operation between Congress and *Institut* was desired. And since, in the opinions of the majority, such co-operation was neither desirable nor practicable, it did not seem to me that co-optation would serve any useful purpose.

The subsequent question, raised in M. Pittard's letter, of eventual co-operation between " deux organismes en présence," namely, the *Institut* and the liberated and reorganized Congress, will obviously offer greater difficulties (or less), according as the separation, which now seems unavoidable, can be effected voluntarily or reluctantly. The representatives of the Congress, with the single exception of M. Verneau, appear to desire separation: the *Institut* naturally does not wish to surrender its control of the Congress.

If all action is to be postponed until after the adjourned meeting in Paris, later in 1931—as has been recommended in a recent anonymous circular printed and posted at Toulouse—I have grave reason to believe that events elsewhere may have profoundly changed the prospects both of the Congress and of the *Institut* itself.

If, on the other hand, the managers of the *Institut* were prepared (in view of the opinions already expressed on behalf of the Congress) to cancel voluntarily the agreement of October, 1928, it would be possible without loss of time, to accept an invitation for the next Congress, and begin to organize it. And as soon as the Congress acquired its new administration, in accordance with its actual statutes, it would be represented, in any further discussions with the *Institut* in Paris, by a body newly constituted for the purpose; not with the survivors of a committee appointed in 1912 for a quite different purpose, however able and willing those survivors have indeed shown themselves to be—as I am glad to be able to testify after recent interviews and correspondence.

I have, of course, submitted these suggestions in due course to M. Marin, as President of the *Institut*, and to the other members of our "little committee"; and when I receive their replies, I propose to communicate them to our Fellows in the same manner as this interim report.

JOHN L. MYRES.

British Columbia : Totemism.

Kerr.

A Totem-Pole from the Nass River, British Columbia. *By R. Kerr, M.A.*

21

The totem-pole illustrated in the accompanying figure has recently been added to the ethnographical collection of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.



FIG. 1.

Gwanes. Both carvers belonged to the Fireweed (*Gisrast*) phratry. The carver of

In connection with this acquisition, the Museum is indebted firstly to the Government of Canada, for permission to remove the pole from that country; and secondly and more particularly to Mr. Marius Barbeau, of the National Museum of Canada, for his services in arranging the purchase of the pole from its Indian owner, supervising its removal from its site, and despatching it on its long journey to Scotland. Mr. Barbeau also collected much valuable information, recorded in the following notes, as to the pole's history and meaning.

The pole has been carved from a log of red cedar, hollowed out at the back. It is in one piece, except for the upper extremity, and certain projecting portions, which have been carved separately and fitted on. Traces of the paint with which the pole was no doubt originally covered are to be seen here and there. The total height is 37 feet.

The pole was erected some 70 or 80 years ago at the village of Angyada, on the lower Nass River, British Columbia. It was amongst the oldest in the country, no poles being known which are more than about 80 years old.* The pole was the property of Neestsawl, a chief of the Nass, and head of a family of the Raven phratry (*Kanhada*). It was erected as a memorial to Tsawit, a chief in the family of Neestsawl, soon after he had been killed in a raid by the Tshimshian against the Niska of the lower Nass. Tsawit was next in line to the head-chief Neestsawl, who was one of the wealthiest chiefs of the Nass; consequently one of the finest poles was set up in his memory.

The carving was executed by two men: Oyay, of Gitwinksihlk ("People of Lizards") at the canyon of the Nass, and his assistant

* M. Barbeau: Totem Poles (Geographical Review, New York, April, 1930, p. 262).

a pole had to be of a different phratry from that of the owner, who was in this case a Raven. Oyay was the foremost carver of the Nass River district, at the best period of totem-pole art (about 1840-1880). The pole given last year by the Canadian National Railways to the Trocadéro, Paris, is also from his hand, and stood next to the specimen described in these notes.

The pole was known by two names: (a) *Hlkwaræt* ("Small-hat") from the hat worn by the figure at the top; or (b) *Masrayail* ("White Bullhead") from the fish represented on it. The figures carved on the pole were in effect family crests, illustrative of the largely mythological history of the family. From the top downwards the figures carved on the pole are as follows:

(1) *Hlkwaræt* ("small-hat"), the old-fashioned ceremonial hat which was a crest of some of the North-West Coast families of various clans. The rings on such hats differed in number according to the owners. It is said that the rings corresponded in number to the ceremonial festivals and distributions of goods ("potlatches") given by the owner concerned.

(2) A human figure wearing the hat. This is Towedtsatnkt, an ancestor who came to the Nass from Wedstæ, a village of the West Coast, south of the Skeena, belonging to a northern Kwakiutl tribe, from which this family originated. It is exceptional to find a West Coast family migrating north like this. The usual drift of migrations in these parts is from north to south.

(3) The raven (*kaq*), the principal emblem of the phratry to which the clan concerned belongs. Its special name here is *hlkuwilksegem kaq*, i.e., Prince of Ravens.

(4) A human figure, representing an ancestor whose name is forgotten.

(5) *Masrayail* ("White Bullhead"), a fish which is one of the principal crests of the family. Some say that this figure represents the Salmon, which is a spirit (*Narhnog*) owned as a name in this family. It is more probable, however, that it is intended to represent the White Bullhead, which is as a rule a crest of the Ravens, while the Salmon is owned by the Eagles in other places.

(6) Another representation of the Prince of Ravens.

Mr. Barbeau's principal informant was Lazarus Moody of Gitrhatin, Nass; his wife 'Ntsitskaos ("Grandmother-scalp") was the owner of the pole. R. KERR.

Anthropology: Applied.

Hobley.

Practical or Applied Anthropology. Some of the Problems.

By 22

C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.

Native Laws and Customs.—Nowhere are the general principles found, nor has any codification been attempted. The Colonial Governments have given a sort of blank cheque to the native authority to exercise judicial authority over their fellows according to native law and custom. The powers of a trained European magistrate are rigidly defined, procedure is codified, the penalties for offences are codified, and so on. Not so the native courts, they can usually try any offence except that of murder and one or two other matters; there can be no uniformity of practice, but no one seems either to know or even to mind, unless there is unrest. The contrast is remarkable.

Native Education.—More imagination has during the last few years been directed towards this question than any other in this field. A great deal is due to the attitude taken up by the Education Committee at the Colonial Office, and one who has done much to inspire this Committee is Dr. Jesse Jones.

Even in this branch more team work is needed, more co-operation between the Education Departments and the Executive and also the Agricultural and Forestry Departments. Applied Anthropology will help in this field.

Native Economics.—Since the war a great revolution has been in progress with regard to native trading methods. Even before the war the Indian "bunnias" in

East Africa, Syrians and others on the West coast, were breaking down the old indigenous outlook with regard to trade. Advances on crops not yet harvested were being introduced. This produced such undesirable results that "A restriction of credit to natives Ordinance" was introduced into Uganda. In Kenya a proposal to protect natives by a similar Ordinance was refused on the grounds that it was better for the natives to learn the disadvantage by bitter experience. The general failure of the native-owned retail store needs further investigation.

To go back to native law once more, the laws governing debts, sales, the use of land, etc., should all be codified and steps should be taken to see that the native courts enforce judgments regarding these matters in accordance with the code. Sanctity of contract has at present little place in the ethical system of a native and, if he is to rise, the importance of this must be impressed on him. It is essential in all aspects of his social life.

All, however, that I desire to emphasize here is the importance of detailed study of the question by men experienced both in native administration and social institutions.

Land Tenure.—This needs much more investigation, and particularly so in view of changing conditions. The area necessary for each family also needs special study now that agricultural departments are urging the culture of economic crops in the reserves and also endeavouring to introduce improved farming methods.

Native Health.—Here again team work is very necessary; the curing of disease is the function of the doctor, but even the help of the administrator is especially required in order to persuade the natives that Western medicine is the best and to ensure native co-operation. In the matter of native nutrition the help of the administrator is particularly needed.

In the field of hygiene the doctor is powerless without the support of the district officer and also the educationalist.

This may seem outside the sphere of even practical anthropology, but not so, for it is essential to ascertain what old customs, what old prejudices stand in the way of the adoption of better hygienic methods. The number of obstacles that will be discovered will probably surprise those who have only looked at the matter from one side only.

The Position of Native Women.—This is a question of the greatest importance. We hear a great deal about the alleged progress of the African, but enquiry generally elicits the fact that it refers to progress of the male section of the native community. No real rise in culture level can be effective unless both sexes participate. If the working part of a man's life is on the plane of the twentieth century and his home life is on that of the tenth century, the so-called progress lacks a sound foundation.

This, however, is a question which requires very careful handling for, as might be expected, natives are apprehensive of interference with their home life (*pace* the resentment evoked by the recent attempt, by the missions in Kenya, to stop certain native customs, which has for a time ruined mission endeavour in that colony).

All this is evidence of the necessity for scientific research conducted by unbiased investigators who have the confidence of the natives. It is unnecessary here to go into detail, but the rapidly changing conditions produce many problems which affect African women.

African Labour in its Relation to Social Life.—This is a subject upon which much enquiry is needed, and if the result is to be beyond suspicion, it must be conducted by trained observers who are not directly interested, either for or against. The Belgians have already conducted an investigation in the Congo into the proportion of men who can be recruited from a given area without unduly interfering with tribal life. Conditions, however, vary in different areas, and there are many other aspects of the problem which need attention. It is a very important subject and men trained to investigate it are needed.

General.—The above headings are a selection from a vast field, but the purpose will be served if it helps to demonstrate the needs of the case.

C. W. HOBLEY.

Europe: Neolithic.

Clark.

A Note on North European Flint Arrowheads. By J. G. D. Clark, B.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.

23

On a recent visit to the Danish National Museum at Copenhagen I took the opportunity of making a rapid study of their flint arrowheads of which some 400 were displayed in a small window case. The observations which one was thus able to make were confirmed by visits to the Museums of Stockholm, Göteborg, Lund, Ystad and Simrishamn, at each of which a special study was made of these types.

The diagrams represent tracings of specimens at Copenhagen, the numbers being those of the museum save in the case of five unnumbered (1 to 5).

Excluding the petit tranchet arrowhead as being a survival of the Kitchen Midden culture, and the tanged triangular-sectioned passage grave type as being local to Scandinavia, there remain only seven main varieties :—

I. Rounded hollow based type represented by the series Z 778 to 13354. In the typologically least evolved stages the parentage of the type in the leaf form is self-evident.

II. Angular hollow based type represented by the series A 16222 to A 11066. In this case the parent appears to be the triangular type.

III. Double barbed and tanged type represented by A 24330.

IV. Leaf type represented by 10302 and A 9049. These are the only specimens of the type which I found in the Museum at Copenhagen or elsewhere in Scandinavia. They are undersized, and altogether poor specimens, much of the primary flaking still being visible.

V. Tanged type represented by A 9048. This is the only example I saw in Scandinavia, other than those with triangular section excluded above.

VI. Triangular type represented by (4) to A 14412. Whether this constitutes a distinct type in Scandinavia, is, from its numerical weakness and its poor finish, a matter of some doubt; possibly these specimens are merely "roughouts" for type II or III.

VII. Miscellaneous: (1) to (3) represent eccentric types; 5 and A 25110 represent elaborations of evolved forms of I and II.

The proportions of the various types in the case which I examined are represented by the following :—

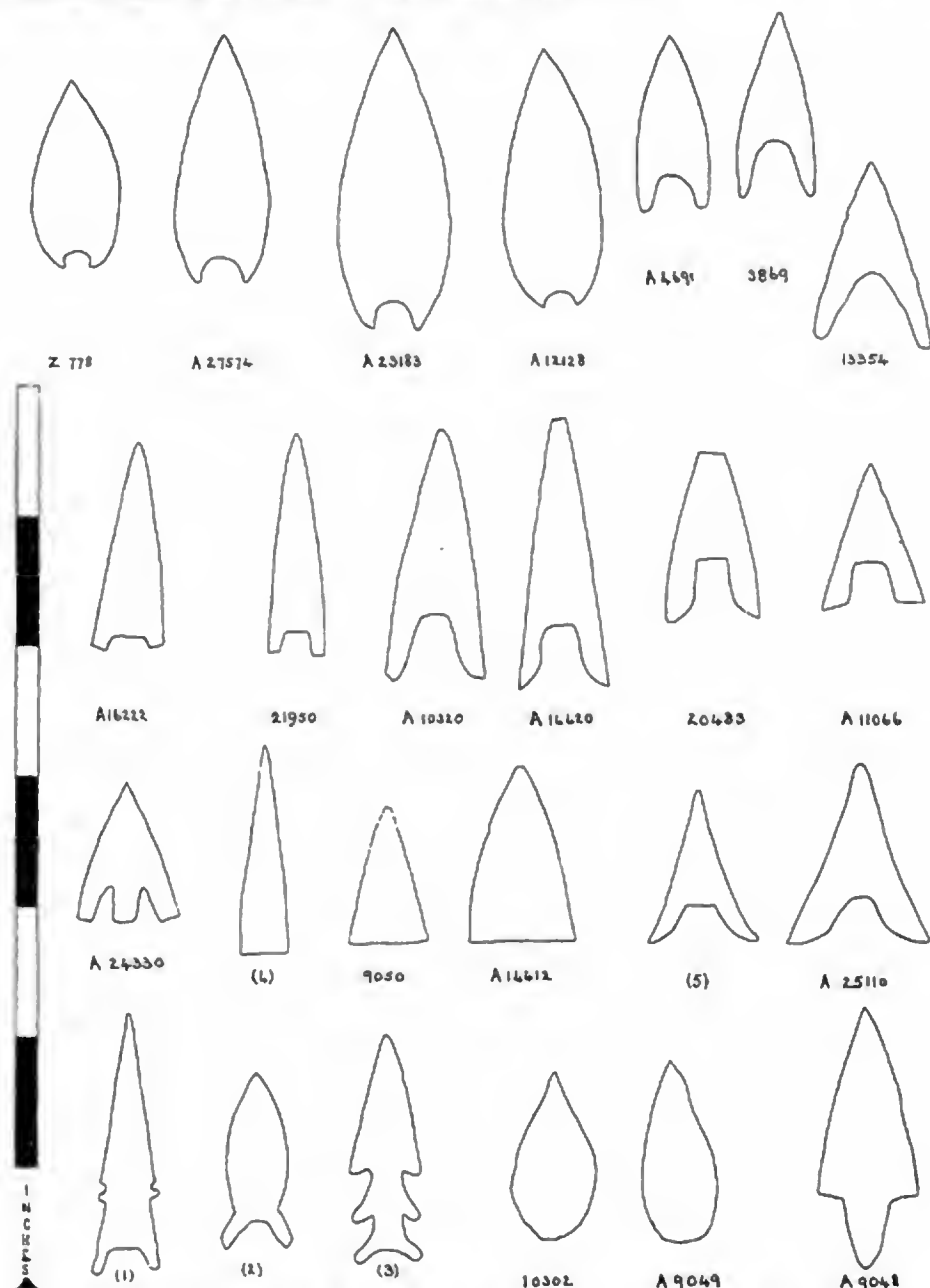
Type I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55%
Type II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29%
Type III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
Type IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ %
Type V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	$\frac{1}{4}$ %
Type VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2%
Type VII	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ %

From these figures it is clear that only types I, II, and III can be considered as of any importance.

Of these type III appears to have arrived fully developed in stone cist times. It continued in use into the Bronze Age. Types I and II are found in all their stages throughout the whole series of megalithic tombs, and even associated with bronzes.

These facts lead us to two considerations: In the first place, since the barbed and tanged type arrived fully developed, and since no transitional forms occur

in the province,* the type is clearly intrusive. This fact together with its late date is interesting in view of the opinion of Mr. Reginald Smith that the type was introduced into Great Britain by the Beaker folk.†



In the second place the absence of the leaf arrowhead as a type, and on the other hand the great abundance of its derivatives (type I), is a very remarkable fact. The leaf arrowhead has been found in Dolmens in Iberia,‡ in Long Barrows

* E.g., only one tanged specimen—type V.

† *Archæologia*, LXXVI., 81-106.

‡ *L'Anthropologie*, XXXV., fig. 15.

in Great Britain,* and not at all in Scandinavia. This is surely one more piece of evidence—tiny but interesting—which emphasises the fact that Scandinavia stood at the end, and not at the beginning, of the megalithic diffusion route.

J. G. D. CLARK.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Egyptian Soudan.

Lord Raglan.

The Nilotic Tribes of the Egyptian Soudan. *Open Public Lecture by the Rt. Hon. Lord Raglan, Wednesday, 10th December, 1930.* **24**

This third lecture of the Open Popular Course on the "Native Races of the Empire" outlined the distribution and general character of the tribes and their organization, under chiefs and elders, in village groups and clans, with age-classes determining the functions of the men-folk in war. Their relations with the Governments are largely a matter of taxation and the punishment of crime. The predominant interest of these people in their cattle is reflected in cattle-cults. Among their arts and crafts iron-working and tobacco-growing have led to local specialization and interchange of products. The position of the women is mainly determined by the part they take in the household routine and in agriculture. Polygamy exists, and a bride price is paid. The religious practices of these people, resulting from their belief in impersonal forces of nature, include rain-making, rites to promote cultivation and avert epidemics, observances suggestive of totemism, and belief in werewolves and the evil eye.

The lecture ended with observations on the probable future of the Nilotic tribes under European influence and supervision.

Africa, South.

Goodwin.

South African Archaeology. *Summary of a communication presented by A. J. H. Goodwin, M.A. Tuesday, 16th December, 1930.* **25**

South Africa, owing to its geographical position, presents peculiar difficulties. There are no glaciations to mark off the time sequence of pre-history, the general aridity has destroyed much stratification, and being the southernmost end of the Old World, racial movement must have been turbulent.

Three main periods have been named, the Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Age respectively. Broadly, these agree with the pre-Mousterian, Mousterian, and post-Mousterian of Europe. The Earlier Stone Age includes the Stellenbosch Culture, leading to the Victoria West technique, which parallels the Tachengit material of Reygasse from Algeria, etc., then follows a further culture, the Fauresmith. The Middle Stone Age may be said to include a number of industries, basically Mousterian, but acted upon by Neanthropic techniques. With the Later Stone Age the Neanthropic technique prevails and African Neolithic elements are assimilated. This phase is the period of cave- and rock-art. Three Smithfield phases appear, *a*, *b* and *c*. The last is largely geographical, and marks interaction between the Smithfield and the Wilton cultures. The marked appearance of Neolithic elements brings the prehistoric period to a close.

The Kitchen Middens may have to be divided into four, the earliest representing the end of the Middle Stone Age, the second Wilton, and perhaps late Smithfield, the third showing no implements save midden-types, the last Neolithic.

The still uncertain evidence of two pluvial periods during the Stellenbosch Culture may in time give us a means of dating South African prehistory, and correlating it with

* *Archæologia*, LXXVI., 81-106.

East Africa and Europe. Evidence also points to a period of aridity immediately following the Middle Stone Age.

Honduras.

Gruning.

Excavations at Pusilha for the British Museum. *Summary of a communication presented on Tuesday, 2nd December, 1930. By Captain E. L. Gruning.* **26**

The British Museum has now made three expeditions to the site of Pusilha, on the upper branches of the Mojo River, in British Honduras. The first was undertaken by Capt. Gruning and Dr. T. Gann, the second by Capt. T. A. Joyce, and the third by Capt. Gruning, with Mr. E. H. Nelson and Mr. R. Ashton.

The objectives of this third journey were to survey the terraced hill, previously discovered south of the Pusilha branch of the Mojo River, and on the Maya bridge situated at the foot of it, linking up the exact positions of other sites and complexes surveyed and excavated in the two previous years, and to remove the last two stelae of any value. The party started from Punta Gorda on 1st March, with tractor and wagon, and the three weeks' journey through the bush was long and tiresome, with many delays by floods, deep mud, and huge fallen trees.

The first work was exploration of the terraced hill and excavation of numerous substructures and mounds with which it is nearly covered. Sections of the hill and the bridge were made, and a complete plan of the immediate neighbourhood.

Much difficulty was experienced in removing the two stelae to the coast, and in the photography, which was undertaken by Mr. Nelson.

Capt. Joyce described the objects found during the digging, especially a jade plaque of a type previously unknown.

Huxley Memorial Lecturer.

Thilenius.

As Huxley Memorial Lecturer for 1931, the Council has nominated **27** Dr. Georg Thilenius, Professor of Ethnology in the University of Hamburg, and Director of the Ethnological Museum of that city; and Dr. Thilenius has accepted this appointment. Dr. Thilenius, following the traditions of his family, graduated in natural science and medicine, under Waldeyer in Berlin and Schwalbe at Strassburg; made ethnographical journeys in South Tunis (1896), and New Zealand, Samoa, and New Guinea (1897-99); became Professor of Anthropology and Ethnology in Breslau in 1900, and Director, in 1904, of the Hamburg Museum, which he has reorganized and greatly enlarged. When the Hamburg University was founded in 1910 he became its Professor of Ethnology, and was Rector in 1920-1. He was President of the German Anthropological Society in 1927, and of the XXIV Int. Congress of Americanists at Hamburg in 1930 (*cf.* MAN, 1930).

As the Institute's contribution to the Centenary Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, (21-28 September, 1931) the Huxley Memorial Lecture will be given, and the Huxley Medal presented, during the meeting, and the usual dinner of the Fellows will be open to members of the Anthropological Section of the Association. The date and place will be announced later. J. L. M.

Africa, South.

Stayt.

The Coloured Peoples of the Union of South Africa. *Summary of the Open Public Lecture by Mr. H. A. Stayt at the Portland Hall, Little Titchfield Street, W.C.1, Wednesday, 14th January, 1931.* **28**

As well as a large settled white population, there are living in South Africa at least five entirely different groups of coloured peoples. Three of these groups are composed of truly African natives, namely the Bushmen, the Hottentots and the Bantu.

The Bushmen live in small nomadic, hunting hordes, neither practising agriculture nor keeping cattle. This race is rapidly dying out. Bushmen rock-paintings and engravings remain, however, as an immortal record of their art.

The Hottentots differ from the Bushmen mainly in that they are cattle keepers. As a race they too are disappearing, and their life is now merged in the history of the Cape Coloured people.

The Cape Coloured people number about half a million, and are descended from a mixture of Hottentots, Malay and Negro slaves and Europeans.

The development of the sugar industry in Natal was followed by the importation of indentured labour from India. Many of these Indians settled down in Natal when their term of labour ended.

The Bantu people in South Africa number about five millions. Their culture is a mixture of the Negroid agricultural and Hamitic pastoral. Each tribe occupies a settled territory and is made up of several thousands of members. Government is carried on by tribal chiefs and petty chiefs, assisted by councils of relatives and headmen. Their system of kinship is of great importance in their social life. Religion, of which ancestor-worship is the predominant feature, and magic are closely associated with all their social and economic activities. The Bantu today are beginning to develop a black race consciousness.

The Bushmen, Hottentots, Cape Coloured and Indians all contribute to the social and economic difficulties of South Africa today, but their importance is almost negligible when compared with the difficulties involved in the adjustment between European and Bantu, partly because the Bantu are so numerous and partly because their culture is so advanced.

REVIEWS.

Religion.

Money-Kyrle.

The Meaning of Sacrifice. By R. Money-Kyrle. Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London. Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1930. Pp. 273.

The difficulty in appreciating meaning in savage customs can be demonstrated by the fact that for the meaning and origin of any given set of customs in the world there are about as many theories as there are writers who have practised the comparative method. As long ago as 1916 Rivers, while criticising the methods of social psychology, and showing their inadequacy for the understanding of social phenomena, indicated that great possibilities should be opened out by the study of the Unconscious. Since then the Functional School of Social Anthropology has done much to encourage sound field work. But even when the function of a custom has been evaluated and due consideration been given to diffusion, we have not discovered its whole meaning. It is, then, with a feeling of comfort that we find one universal law (despite the variations of interpretation in different cultures), viz., the prohibition of incest. So the anthropologist should be grateful to Mr. Money-Kyrle for examining sacrifice as a legacy

of the adoption of this law. Psychoanalysts sum up the situation by postulating a universally distributed and individually experienced Oedipus complex. In Dr. Money-Kyrle's opinion the hypothesis of a primæval parricide and a racial memory of the drama are not essential to the theory, the obstinate predilection for incest in the unconscious being conditioned by the long period of infancy. Sacrifice is looked upon as due to the sense of guilt dependent on the unconscious desire to kill the father, and variations in sacrifice are correlated with various solutions of the central complex.

A criticism of method is necessary. The author writes: "There is, I think, a legitimate threefold division of labour in anthropology. First, there are the field workers who collect the raw material. Next, the library workers who classify, and interpolate to some extent from the historic to the prehistoric. Lastly, there are the psychologists who interpret the rites which the library workers have collected in an easy and accessible form. Their theories are a challenge to the field workers to confirm or reject. Thus Anthropology progresses spiralwise from the field worker to the library worker, from the library worker to the psychologist, and from the psychologist back to the

field worker, who starts the cycle all over again." It seems scarcely fair to regard the literary anthropologist as a middleman, and in this case it is very misleading. For the true "meaning" of a given custom we need to understand its place in society, its function and survival value, its rationalization by those who practise it, and its unconscious motivation. Thus, if the psychologist cannot be himself a field worker, he should avail himself of intensive firsthand, not comparative, work for analysis.

Owing to his method it is not always easy to know when Dr. Money-Kyrle is explaining the unconscious motive behind some theory of totemism, or a feature in actual practice. Thus immense importance is attached to the "totemic feast," a problematic feature of those beliefs and customs which have somewhat arbitrarily been called totemism. On the other hand, the relation of men to animals in savage society is a subject worthy of the closest analytical examination. Dr. Money-Kyrle uses the old argument that because a thing is forbidden therefore it must once have been the rule. This historical interpretation is unnecessary; because a thing is forbidden therefore it is still a temptation, is a far more useful point of view. When the rule becomes obsolete then it may be assumed that the danger of its infringement has passed. But the danger of incest never seems to disappear; when it has been routed consciously it lurks in the unconscious. And this is not surprising when we consider that the fundamental human need is the formation of a group stable enough to contain the immature, the vigorous young and the weakening old, permitting wisdom and tradition to be handed down from generation to generation, a feat impossible without the regulation of the incest laws. So it would seem that the family conflict of love and hate begets the conscience that upholds it. But what is conscience? Our author says: "The desire for punishment is nothing more than the destructive impulse of an inverted hate, and the sense of guilt is simply the fear of this hate. The voice of the avenger within the self is ventriloquised and heard of as the voice of God. And this voice is persistent and allows no rest until in despair its hearer turns and rends himself, or finds someone else to injure in his place. . . . But there is no feeling and no sensation which cannot be experienced by proxy. . . . The facts of conscience and the desire for direct or vicarious self-punishment have often been quoted in disproof of the hedonic principle. On analysis they seem strikingly to confirm it. For, to submit to punishment is, to the

inhibited personality, the line of least resistance. In it he derives erotic satisfaction. Without succumbing to it he would remain utterly inhibited and tormented with fear of an inverted hate which was unfulfilled." If this is to be regarded as the essence of sacrifice, then the anthropologist must examine the incidence of sacrifice in different societies. Why should sacrifices, and especially human sacrifice, have assumed such huge proportions in the well organized kingdoms of Uganda and West Africa and be relatively insignificant among Nilotes and the majority of Bantu. These and other thoughts will suggest themselves to anthropologists who are willing to familiarize themselves with psycho-analytic argument and to follow Dr. Money-Kyrle's thesis, which should prove a stimulus to further research.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN.

Britain: Archaeology.

Allcroft.

The Circle and the Cross. 30
A. Hadrian Allcroft. Vol. II: The Cross. London: Macmillan & Co., 1930. 454 pages with numerous illustrations. 12s. 6d.

Not, I think, since Mr. Massingham's "Downland Man" made its vigorous and victorious assault upon the reading public of this country, has any work dealing with England's past achieved so large a measure of success as the late Mr. Allcroft's book, and one part at least of his argument—that which explains the majority of our stone circles as primitive moot-places—is now as well known as any of the orthodox tenets of archaeology; even a hasty glance through a few popular guide-books will be sufficient to demonstrate that this is so. I am, however, inclined to regret the specious success of "The Circle" because the moot-theory of the first volume (reviewed by me in MAN, 1928, 44) is far from being the most important element in Mr. Allcroft's dissertation, and the fact that it is regarded (quite properly) with serious misgivings by many archaeologists is unfortunately often construed as a lack of appreciation for the whole work. I earnestly hope, therefore, that the second volume, "The Cross," in which the moot-theory plays no important part, will be carefully read by all students of British antiquities, for it is here that we come to grips with the author's principal contention, which I do not hesitate to describe as being most profoundly interesting and also unmistakably important.

Mr. Allcroft argued that whereas, in general, paganism was content to keep the departed at some distance from the abodes of the living, Christianity, on the other hand, "made friends with all its dead," and therefore placed its habitations and its temples among the tombs and upon

them; but in the beginning it was upon the tombs of the pagan dead—or in structures of the pagan “cemetery” form—that Christianity made its home, so that the earliest places of Christian worship were not *edifices*, but circular *grave-yards*, that either imitated or actually were, pagan burial-mounds; these *grave-yards*, he believed, bore the name of *ciric* which was subsequently transferred to the primitive bed-house erected therein and finally to the more imposing buildings (the church proper) that supplanted them. Thus, Mr. Allerøft would have us see in the modern parish church the lineal descendant of the pagan burial-mound, and he is of the opinion that the bones of the forgotten heathen folk in these mounds occasioned the original supernal hallowing of what often became later a Christian site. It is a thesis that the author is able to develop to the accompaniment of an astonishing parade of his learning. He describes the conversion of England and Ireland; he shows how Saxon paganism crumbled under the spell of Celtic Christianity, how Celtic missionaries established the primitive circular monastic enclosure, how this, from its resemblance to the *circi* of the Romano-British people, was styled by the Saxons a *ciric*, and how this *ciric* can be proved connected with prehistoric burial and moot-places. He shows how the old secular uses for such places, since become churches, survived into late ecclesiastical history, and finally he declares boldly that the word *church* itself is nothing but the name *ciric* in altered guise.

I hope that someone properly qualified will give this thesis the full discussion that it merits, someone who is able to review the argument as a whole, giving proper regard to its archaeological, historical, and philological aspects. I imagine that philologists will not approve of much in Mr. Allerøft's final (and most contentious) chapter, and I am bound to say of other parts of the book that the archaeology is sometimes irritatingly out of date and occasionally inaccurate. But I am not aware that there are any reasons for summarily rejecting the author's main thesis, which is concerned merely with establishing the continuity between pagan burial-place and Christian church. His parting gift to us, therefore, is a new and remarkable idea upon which judgment has yet to be passed, and I would add that its vehicle is a noble book, for the pages of “The Circle and the Cross” are stirred by the deep authentic thrill of the scholar-discoverer who has out-paced even the van of his contemporaries and set his feet upon heights as yet unclimbed.

T. D. KENDRICK.

Japan.

Shinji Nishimura.

The Kagami-no-fune or Wicker Boat. By Shinji Nishimura. Tokyo: 31 Published by the Society of Naval Architects, Tokyo. 1930. 10 in. × 7½ in.; pp. 61, with 10 plates and 21 text-figures.

This interesting little work, which forms a section of Part IV of the seventh volume of the author's “Study of Ancient Ships of Japan,” is primarily an attempt to prove that the mysterious vessel called *Kagami-no-fune* which, according to Japanese myth, brought to land a dwarf deity clothed in a mantle of wren's feathers, was not the equivalent of a fairy nutshell, but a reference to a round, skin-covered boat of the coracle type, and that such craft were used anciently in Japan.

The evidence adduced, whilst not convincing, is extremely interesting. The author records, for the first time, the occurrence in Japan of a strange tub-shaped wooden craft, called *tarai-bune*, possessed generally by fishermen on the western coast. It is oval in form, often six feet in length and two feet in depth; built of staves it resembles closely the large wooden tubs formerly in common household use in England. At one end is a shallow rowlock and cord grommet through which the scull, used in propelling it, is passed. The existence of this queer craft, considered to be a counterpart in wood of an original in wickerwork covered with skin, and the fact that in Sado Island one kind of small boat is called *sappa*, identified with *chaha*, the Manchurian name for a hide-covered coracle, constitute all the local evidence adduced in support of the author's hypothesis.

Other ingenious deductions are equally weakly reasoned. The fact that a whale's vertebra was found in a shell mound in Sakhalin associated with stone implements, is put forward as revealing “the fact that the stone-age inhabitants had ability to catch whales and also had vessels in which they put out to deep sea for whaling.” And yet on p. 161 (pagination begins with page 115) it is mentioned that the whale sinews used in sewing the skin covering of *kayaks* are taken from the bodies of dead whales that often drift ashore.

To strengthen his contention that skin-boats were once used in Japan, the author emphasizes and summarizes the wide diffusion of craft of this nature throughout Asia, North-Western Europe and America. This review is useful, but is far from complete. Evidently a great deal of literature on this subject has escaped his notice; for example, the papers on Indian boats in the “Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,” from which he would learn not

only of the wide distribution at the present day of skin coracles in India, but also of the existence of an earthenware variety in use in Eastern Bengal. There are also more detailed descriptions of the North American bull-boat than that quoted, whilst the extension of its range into South America finds no mention. Due importance is given to the fine representations of *kufas* seen in ancient Assyrian sculptures, but it certainly was not Pitt-Rivers who discovered them! Neither are they Phœnician vessels that are pictured in Fig. 37 as berthed in an Egyptian harbour. Similarly the prohistorio Sakhalin etching on bone, figured on Plate XVIII, is by no means convincing evidence that the gravers hunted whales in skin-covered boats, likely though this may be.

In spite of these shortcomings this study has distinct value as a contribution to our knowledge of skin boats and their derivatives. Several of the illustrations are notable, and the one reproducing a Japanese colour print depicting a Koryak *kayak* is a charming sketch. JAMES HORNELL.

Physical Anthropology. Wood Jones.

Man's Place among the Mammals.

By F. Wood Jones. London: **32**
Edward Arnold & Co., 1929. Pp. xi + 372.
21s. net.

This is the fullest exposition yet published by Professor Wood Jones of his heterodox views on the ancestry of man. The "Tarsian hypothesis" has had a cool reception, partly perhaps as a reaction against the warmth of its sponsor's advocacy, but it is much to the good that he himself has not been chilled into silence. No accepted theory should be placed in sanctuary, since defence against attack is a condition of survival.

Professor Wood Jones does not mince his criticisms of the prevailing view that man and the existing great apes are the survivors of a common stock. He ruthlessly abolishes the ancestors we thought we had, removes our living anthropoid relations to a much greater distance, and gives us an exclusive line of descent back to an Eocene Tarsioid; that is to say, he argues that the human stock split off from the family tree at a point far below that which is commonly postulated. In doing this he is in agreement with a tendency that is becoming very marked amongst zoologists. The branching of reconstructed ancestral trees is growing less and less like that of an ash or an oak, and more and more like the bamboo clump—"a bundle of sticks rather than "a tree" is the author's disintegrating way of putting it. The resemblances between man and the modern great apes he would

explain as the results of convergence and parallelism amongst collateral descendants of a common ancestor of low type, some of the resemblances being purely adaptive features.

In spite of the justifiable criticisms of those who appeal to comparative morphology (an extension of Professor Wood Jones's "so-called science of morphology") and comparative physiology, the book cannot be dismissed as too speculative for consideration. Indeed, the greater part of it is made up of a very valuable discussion of the zoological position of Tarsiers, Lemurs, and old and new world apes and monkeys. Nor can we reject the "Tarsian hypothesis" as fanciful. It is contrary to the weight of evidence, but we need not be too sure that all the evidence is going into the right scale-pan. Professor Wood Jones believes in the inheritance of acquired characters, and this leads him to regard purely adaptive characters as of relatively easy origin. But do other anthropologists accept the inheritance of acquired characters as a factor in evolution? It does not follow at all that such a belief would land them in Professor Wood Jones's footsteps, but it would help them to know where they stood. One would like to know about it.

H. S. HARRISON.

Physical Anthropology.

Harris.

The Measurement of Man. By

J. A. Harris, C. M. Jackson, D. G. **33**
Paterson, R. E. Scammon. 15.5 × 23.5 cm.
vii + 215 pp. Univ. of Minnesota Press.
1930.

We feel that the title of this book is a little misleading; it is not a comprehensive study of methods and achievements in the measurement of man, but a report of four lectures on some aspects of the problem. A paper by J. A. Harris, entitled "The Measurement of Man in the Mass," would be more accurately described as the utilization of masses of measurements. It gives a summary of the results of various efforts to arrive at mathematical relationships between different data: students of biometric methods will be familiar with much of the data quoted. C. M. Jackson's "Normal and Abnormal Types" reproduces Ripley's well known maps of brunette traits, of stature and of cephalic index in Europe and quotes tables from Davenport and Lowe, Jackson and others. Again the title seems too inclusive—the racial types discussed are Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean—no other human type is considered, and the three pages dealing with abnormalities are very slight. D. G. Paterson discusses Personality and Physique and shows

how little progress has as yet been made in finding any correlation between physical characters and mental make-up. He rightly emphasizes the enormous range of individual differences in intelligence. He quotes some curious past efforts at summing up intelligence and character from appearance and gives a frank account of his own experiences in this connection. R. E. Scammon writes on "The Measurement of the Body in Childhood." In discussing growth in stature he states that seriatim measurements of single individuals would be difficult to obtain in sufficient number. But surely in these days of universal education and of widespread school medical examinations there must exist facilities for collecting enormous masses of seriatim measurements, and in fact they exist in many schools and lie unrecorded, since few school medical officers have followed Mumford's example and published their results. The difficulty which he points out that seriatim measurements must be limited to external dimensions of the body and its orifices and to results obtained by radiography, auscultation etc. is a more insuperable one. At the same time many objections could be raised as to the value of post mortem measurements, which seem to be the only alternative, since the difficulty cited above applies to all measurements, whether seriatim or not, on the living subject. His paper is, however, the most original of the four and its value is enhanced by a bibliography giving references for facts and statements quoted. R. M. F.

Java : Anthropology. Nyessen.
Somatal Investigation of the Javanese, 1929. By Dr. D. J. H. 34
Nyessen. Anthropological Laboratory of Java. 1929. 8vo. Pp. x., 120, with 4 tables, 130 pictures, 2 maps and appendix.

This interesting and well-illustrated volume contains an introduction, in English, describing recent Dutch investigations of the ethnography of Java, and the difficulties encountered: an interesting experiment was the employment of prisoners on the statistical calculations, different gangs checking each other's work! Testimony is also borne to the help accorded by members of the Civil Service, "realizing the great importance of a more thorough knowledge of the population"; and "the ready help afforded is indeed definite evidence of the practical value of the investigation." (p. 13). This has been carried out on a geographical basis, on the ground that "geographical isolation must, for the

present, be regarded as the dominant factor for racial and constitutional differences" (p. 17); choosing neighbouring places for comparison, where differences of environment are small.

The "abstract and conclusions" and the descriptions of the Plates, on pp. 105-119 are also given in English. The rest of the book consists of a series of interim reports communicated by the anthropologist in the field to his committee. The plates include excellent photographs of the principal living types, and some very interesting examples of Javanese types rendered in native art-style. J. L. M.

Africa-West. Wilson-Haffenden.
The Red Men of Nigeria. By 35
Captain J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, with a foreword by Bronislaw Malinowski. With illustrations and map. London: Seeley, 1930. Pp. 318. 21s.

The first part of this book is devoted to travel notes and general impressions of Northern Nigeria and the rest of it is given to Ethnology, both descriptive and analytical. It is all interesting and some of it important, e.g., the description of Kwotto Totemism which shows us a ritual attitude towards animals far more complex and intense than is usual in Africa. The account of magic is fuller and better than we expect in books of this kind. The description of native customs is, however, largely spoilt by the author's laborious discussion of current anthropological theory where he is obviously out of his depth. His ideas about what constitute "historical" and "functional" explanations are grotesque (pp. 192-4 and *passim*). This would not so much matter if they did not get mixed up with his descriptions in such a way that it is often very doubtful whether it is the native or Captain Wilson-Haffenden who is supposed to be speaking. It also makes confusion which in an account less broken up by "explanations" would be avoided. Thus, for example, it is not easy to reconcile the statements of the author (p. 198) that rites of black magic "are similarly bound up with moral concepts, for they are regarded as efficient to harm the wicked but not the good," and by Professor Malinowski in the foreword (p. 13) that "evil magic is used almost invariably in the execution of legally or morally valid grievances" with the use of magic for "such criminal occupations as stealing, murdering, and abduction of females." (p. 210).

So much literature appears from year to year in the form of books or articles about

Africa that it is the main function of a reviewer to save the time of other specialists by saying whether a book is or is not worth reading. In spite of defects Captain Wilson-Haffenden's book comes very definitely into the category of books which are worth reading by specialists.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

Africa: Physical.

Weniger.

Eine morphologisch-anthropologische Studie durchgeführt an 100 westafrikanischen Negeren. By Dr. Josef Weniger. (Rudolf Pöchs Nachlass. Serie A. Band 1.) Wien, 1927. Pp. 182, with map and plates. **36**

As there is little literature on the physical anthropology of the negroes of West Africa, this monograph on natives of tribes from the Senegal to the Niger is welcome. The anthropometric measurements include not only

skeletal features but the soft parts: all are fully illustrated by well-reproduced photographs. Correlations have been worked out for the dimensions, and comparisons are made with other records of which there is a detailed bibliography. The types illustrated seem to agree with previous records, but the measurements and description is more detailed; and from several of the areas described records have been lacking. The chief comparisons are with the records of Malcolm, Czechanofsky, and Seligman. The work is so arranged that all details are available for subsequent comparison by other investigators. A welcome feature is a classification, fully illustrated by special photographs, of the forms of the orbits and eyelids, of the nose and of the ears with the relative proportions of each form for each type of negro investigated. The author may be congratulated on a most extensive and detailed piece of research. A. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Agriculture.

Hornell.

The Distribution of the Threshing Sledge. **37**

SIR,—In my note on the Cypriot Threshing Sledge (MAN, 1930, 112), it is stated that the sledge in use in Spain and the Canary Islands is unarmed with flints. I now find that the information on which I relied is incorrect.

Dr. J. W. Evans, F.R.S. (*Nature*, Sept. 27, 1930), records seeing threshing in operation at Burgos in Spain; the threshing sledge, known as *trillo*, was "well provided with flints, which like those of Cyprus are of Miocene age."

To this I am now enabled to add some further particulars kindly supplied by correspondents. In the Canary Islands the under surface of the sledge is armed with sharp pieces of hard basalt termed locally *pie dra viva*, flint being unobtainable in the islands. Half the cut straw is usually given in payment for the work of threshing and this is used as fodder. In Portugal, the stone-studded threshing sledge, there called *trilho*, is also still in use, although rapidly giving way to more modern systems of threshing. In Madeira, according to my friend Senhor A. C. de Noronha, the *trilho* is extinct, but in the neighbouring island of Porto Santo it survives. There, too, as in the Canaries, a substitute has to be sought for flint and this is found in fragments of what my correspondent terms "vesicular volcanic scoræ." As no seat is provided, considerable skill is needed by the driver to maintain his equilibrium.

In the Azores, the *trilho* is also still employed, according to the Marquis de Jacome Correia.

Yours truly,

JAMES HORNELL.

December 4th, 1930.

Note.—The name *trilho*, like the Modern Greek *trivolo*, represents the Latin *tribulum*, which gives us too our *tribulation*; but as we have no "threshing sledges" in our moister climate, our metaphor for "tribulation" is drawn from the "toad under a harrow."

For ancient and modern usage in the Near East, see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s.v. "Agriculture." J. L. MYRES.

Couvade.

Durham.

The Custom of Couvade. **38**

SIR,—In the 1880-90's, I frequently stayed at a farm in West Sussex, Potworth district.

The farmer's wife, an intelligent and cultivated woman, frequently told me that men quite commonly suffered from sickness during the wife's pregnancy. She firmly believed it, regarded it as an act of justice arranged by Providence, and regretted only that Providence did not inflict a heavier penalty.

Yours faithfully,

M. E. DURHAM.

Europe: Prehistoric.

Brooks.

The Painted Pebbles of Mas-d'Azil. **39**

SIR,—Painted pebbles have been found in use by the natives of Australia, and elsewhere. So it is reasonable to suppose that these of Azil were the same. Examples are in Spencer and Gillen: "The Native Tribes of Central Australia," p. 157; Spencer: "Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia," p. 184; Macalister: "Text-book of European Archaeology," p. 529.

Yours faithfully,

F. A. BROOKS.

Etiquette.

Hocart.

SIR,—Can any of your readers

1. Define etiquette;

2. Give a bibliography of the subject?

Important as it is in daily life it seems to have been overlooked by the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and by the subject index of your Institute. A. M. HOCART. **40**



FIG. 1.—NYIGIRI.

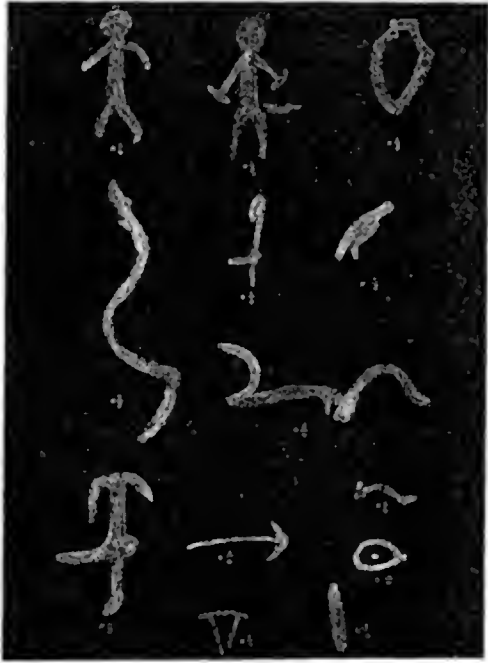


FIG. 2.—NYIGIRI.



FIG. 4.—MLIMA WA NZALE.



FIG. 5.—MLIMA WA BAHU.



FIG. 6.—MLIMA WA BAHU.

ROCK PAINTINGS AT BAHU, TANGANYIKA TERRITORY.

Reduced from Drawings by A. T. Culwick, B.A. The fractions record the scale of the original drawings.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 41-59.

MARCH, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate C.

Tanganyika:

Culwick.

Ritual Use of Rock Paintings at Bahi, Tanganyika Territory. By **41**
A. T. Culwick, B.A.

About two miles to the north-west of Bahi lies a rocky hill called Mlima wa Mzale and about five miles to the south-east another called Mlima wa Bahi, while some five miles to the east along the Dodoma road there is a group of rocks, called Nyigiri, consisting of a large conical boulder with several smaller boulders round its base. At these three sites are the rock paintings shown in illustrations 1—8. They occur in shelters and are executed in a white pigment which looks like whitewash and which is laid thickly on the rock face.

Mtemi Ilotwa, a Gogo chief, showed me these pictures; and he and an elder called Faudi, the son of Kamyuka, told me the following story, which I record verbatim:—

“The earliest ancestor of ours whom we know about was called Kimanehambogo. He came from Gurui.” This is Mount Hanang near Mbulu. “When he arrived here a chief called Wamia, whose language he did not understand, was occupying this country, and was helped by a powerful headman called Amankara. These two, when they found Kimanehambogo hunting over their territory, drove him away.”

“Later Kimanehambogo returned and defeated Wamia, who fled, and since those days we have held the country round Bahi.”

“When Wamia fled, everyone went with him except a small girl called Manze. She was left behind and forgotten in the rush. Kimanehambogo treated her kindly and used to see her as he passed by her house when going out to hunt. I expect this was because he wanted to marry her! Then there came a day when Manze became pregnant because of Kimanehambogo, and later she bore a son. Our ancestor then married her—he had never married previously—and she lived with him from then on. The son’s name was Samani and he succeeded Kimanehambogo as Mtemi.” From other information, it appears that there were really several generations between Kimanehambogo and Samani.

“Now it has been passed down from Kimanehambogo himself that the white paintings were painted by Wamia and Amankara, who used to sacrifice cows in these rock shelters. After eating, they used to prepare fat from the inside



FIG. 3.—NYIGIRI.

" of the beasts and with it paint these signs on the rock. The signs were connected with Wamia's religion, but exactly how I do not know.

" We Wagogo hold that these spots are sacred and we still 'tambika' at 'Mlima wa Bahi and Nyigiri.' The word 'tambika' indicates a special form of sacrifice in which the entrails of the sacrificial animal are taken out and thrown at the sacred object. " When we do this we pray to Mulungu for rain and we get it. When we 'tambika' we use the fat of the beast sacrificed and with this we brush over the ancient signs, following the lines drawn by Wamia.

" As to what the pictures represent and why they were painted, we do not know now. Only Wamia and his people knew and they have gone." It was stated that this lack of knowledge did not affect the magical efficacy of the ritual.

As far as I have been able to discover, the genealogy of Mtemi Ilotwa is as follows :—

- I. Kitaso. He lived and died in Ipambe in Turu.
- II. Kimanchambogo. A son of Kitaso and a great hunter. He left Ipambe during a famine and, according to a legend rather different from Ilotwa's, he assisted some of the Wagogo who were being hard pressed by their enemies, at a hill called Nanda at Kitalalo, near Bahi. After their deliverance they gave him a wife and made him Mtemi.
- III. Muninanda. He died from a spear thrust received in battle with the Masai.
- IV. Munyankata.
- V. Munitumba.
- VI. Dahani. He had three sons who divided his territory, the middle one, Samani, taking the Bahi portion.
- VII. Samani.
- VIII. Ilotwa I.
- IX. Kosec.
- X. Kisanza. He was ruling just before the war.
- XI. Makunzu.
- XII. Ilotwa II. The present chief.



FIG. 7.—MLIMA WA BAHİ.

There are people still living who remember Kosec as an old man, though no one can remember Ilotwa I, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that Kimanchambogo came to Bahi about 250 years ago and that the paintings are rather older than that.

The present Wamia are scattered, but a fair number of them are said to live together south of the Ruaha River. I have not been able to visit them personally, and a letter to a European in that district

received no reply. The following information was obtained from a native employed by the Police who has travelled a great deal and declares that he is well acquainted

with the customs, legends and art of the Wamia. Though I have had no opportunity of checking his statements, I quote them for what they are worth.

The Wagogo say that the Wamia were originally hunters living round Bahi, but that later they took to herding cattle which they raided from the Masai. (Note the pictures of cattle and the man in Masai dress.)* According to their own legends, however, the Wamia were originally a section of the Masai which split off and went to live in Uhehe and later migrated to Ukimbu. There their cattle were stricken with disease and died off, after which a large body of them moved to Bahi and, having no cattle, took to hunting. (Hence the idea held by the Wagogo that the Wamia at Bahi were originally hunters who only later took to keeping cattle.)*

The present Wamia have funeral rites of an unusual type. When a distinguished man or woman dies, a rock is "tambika'd." All the elders assemble and drink native beer which they spit out on the rock. The fat from the sacrificial animals, cattle or sheep, is melted in a pot and a brush is made by beating the end of a stick. The principal elder among those present then takes the brush, dips it in the melted fat, and in this medium paints a picture of the deceased on the rock. He also paints representations of some of the dead man's property, such as cattle, gourds, pestles and mortars, personal ornaments, etc. The picture is then completely screened with branches and the elders call all the inhabitants. A large quantity of beer is brewed and a dance is held with feasting and drinking. (It is interesting to note that amongst the objects depicted at the Bahi sites are cattle (figs. 6 and 7), stools (figs. 4 and 6), a hoe (fig. 5), gourds (fig. 4), an arrow (fig. 2), a bird (fig. 2), bangles (figs. 4 and 8), and possibly a native churn (fig. 7).)

In times of drought, the elders visit the paintings, bringing with them a black robe, a black cow and a black sheep. Beer is brewed and is poured out on the ground. The sacrificial animals are then killed and their blood is smeared on the rock, after which the elders pray to the deceased saying: "—, we have given you "these gifts, give us rain." The elders and their children eat the meat of the sacrifice, but the children may not eat the meat on the spine. After this the entrails of the animal are placed at the bottom of the rock with the black robe and some tobacco, and the whole company dances back to the village.

In the event of a witchdoctor dying, he is always depicted as a snake. (A snake with a young one appears among the paintings at Mlima wa Bahi.)* All snakes are supposed to be either dead witchdoctors or even living ones. The sight of a witchdoctor and his "snake-self" at the same moment does not shake this belief. (To these people it is evidently possible for a man to be himself and another being at one and the same time, no contradiction of thought being perceived.)*

Thus far my informant. A special interest attaches to his statements in view of the ritual now practised by the Wagogo round

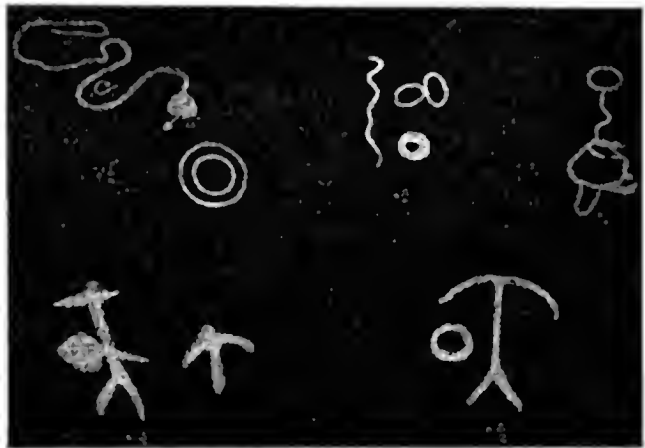


FIG. 8.—MLIMA WA BAHİ.

* The sentences in brackets are not part of the information given by this native informant.

Bahi. Certain of the paintings which I inspected at Mlima wa Bahi had been recently touched up. This gave them a waxy appearance. The one which appeared to have been dealt with most recently was screened with boughs though the leaves from these had fallen.

The present inhabitants do not understand the meaning of these ceremonies, but they have absolute faith in their efficacy. They say: "When we 'tambika' we get all we ask for, be it children or rain or anything else."

I have given here all the information I have been able to obtain hearing on these paintings, their painters and their present function. Even if the account given by Ilotwa and Faudi of the history of this section of the Wagogo should prove unreliable, and even if the description of the Wamia should be discredited, yet one fact remains beyond question. There are at Bahi rock paintings which figure in religious ceremonies, in connection with sacrifices for rain and for other needs. Whatever they may have meant to the original painters they undoubtedly have a deep religious significance for the people now living round them. They thus afford definite evidence of the ritual use of rock paintings.

A. T. CULWICK.

Bride-Price.

Evans-Pritchard.

An Alternative Term for "Bride-Price." By E. E. Evans-Pritchard, **42**
M.A., Ph.D.

There has been a considerable amount of discussion of late in this journal about an alternative expression for "bride-price" to refer to the wealth which is handed over by a man or his relatives to the family or clan of his wife before and during marriage. In this discussion several well-known Africanists and ethnologists took part and a number of terms were proposed. Unfortunately these papers and letters, though stimulating, did not lead to any general agreement. Had any such agreement been reached I should not have ventured to re-open the question, but in the midst of so much divergence of opinion I may be excused for putting forward the term "bride-wealth," which I believe to be unobjectionable and which may prove to be acceptable to all.

On one point at least there seems to be fairly complete accord among specialists, namely about the undesirability of retaining the expression "bride-price." There are very good reasons for cutting the term out of ethnological literature since at best it emphasizes only one of the functions of this wealth, an economic one, to the exclusion of other important social functions; and since, at worst, it encourages the layman to think that "price" used in this context is synonymous with "purchase" in common English parlance. Hence we find people believing that wives are bought and sold in Africa in much the same manner as commodities are bought and sold in European markets. It is difficult to exaggerate the harm done to Africans by this ignorance.⁽¹⁾

A few writers have preferred to retain the native term in use in African communities when writing about their marriage customs,⁽²⁾ and this is the method recommended by *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. Unfortunately some societies have no suitable lexographic symbol to denote this kind of wealth (e.g. the Azande). Also there seems to be little chance of ethnologists utilizing one of these words as a symbol for bride-wealth in all African societies as M. Junod hoped that *lobola* would be utilized. On the whole it is far more convenient from the popular and scientific standpoints alike to employ an English portmanteau-word to denote wealth used in this special cultural situation. Several such words have been used or suggested, e.g. "dower," "settlement," "earnest" and "indemnity," while "price" still appears to have its supporters. I shall therefore give short consideration to each of these proposals and show that while there is

something to commend most of them it is more likely that a term such as "bride-wealth" will prove generally acceptable, and it was unanimity which Mr. Torday hoped for when he initiated the discussion.

Several writers use the word "dowry," but this is unsuitable for two reasons. In the first place it has a very definite connotation in sociological literature (e.g. in history and jurisprudence) as well as in every-day linguistic usage in our own culture and this connotation has no parallel to the process which it is made to describe in Africa. In the second place it is probable that the meaning which "dowry" has in English literature is analogous to a similar transference of wealth in many African societies so that we may require to use the term in its proper situation.⁽³⁾ In the same way "settlement"⁽⁴⁾ has in England an established and restricted meaning, and this meaning is quite inapplicable to what goes under the name of "bride-price." Here again, according to Mr. Torday, the term is needed to refer to wealth which has a similar rôle to play in African communities to that which marriage settlement plays in our own.

Mr. Torday suggests "earnest" instead of the above terms. In his opinion "it is the sealing of the contract which is of paramount importance. It is a ceremonial act by which two groups, families or clans, pledge themselves that their children shall fulfil their duties as husband and wife." There is no doubt that bride-wealth creates a legal bond between man and wife and between their respective families, involving them in a series of privileges and obligations sanctioned by law. It is a concrete document by which marriage, descent, and inheritance are known and legitimized. But even if "earnest" were used in such a wide sense it would still describe only one of the many aspects of bride-wealth and consequently is not welcomed by specialists who attach more importance to other of its functions. Thus Prof. Radcliffe Brown writes: "The payment of the *lobola* is certainly not by itself sufficient to 'seal the contract,' and I do not think it really fills that particular function at all."⁽⁵⁾ "Earnest" is moreover a term which has a conventional meaning in English law and it could more suitably be applied to small gifts which are made at betrothal among some African peoples. These gifts have little or no economic value but are given as a guarantee of good faith that both parties honestly intend to conclude the marriage and carry out its concomitant obligations. Hence in relation to bride-wealth these gifts are not a deposit but are an earnest that bride-wealth will be handed over eventually.

Prof. Radcliffe Brown prefers the term "indemnity," though he does not consider it to be comprehensive or entirely satisfactory. In his view "The payment of cattle for a wife is functionally parallel to the payment of cattle for a man who has been intentionally or accidentally killed. In both cases the payment is an 'indemnity' of payment of compensation to a group (family or clan) that loses a member." Here again the disadvantage of the proposed term lies in the fact, fully recognized by Prof. Radcliffe Brown, that special emphasis is laid on only one function of bride-wealth to the exclusion of others. It is true that Prof. Radcliffe Brown believes this function to be "the most important thing of all," but unfortunately other scholars attach no importance to it whatsoever, e.g. Mr. Torday, who considers that "We may disregard the loss to the clan." Lord Raglan is also up in arms against "indemnity" and is of the opinion that among the Nilotic tribes which he knew at first hand "Girls are definitely regarded as a source of wealth."⁽⁶⁾ I certainly agree with Lord Raglan about the stress which should be laid on the economic aspect of bride-wealth, though it is difficult to approve of the evidence by which he supports his contention.⁽⁷⁾ In any case the arguments against "bride-price," which is presumably the term supported by Lord Raglan, are cogent enough and have already been mentioned

in this paper as well as earlier and better and more fully by Mr. Torday and other writers. Mr. Torday's initiation of a discussion on bride-wealth in the pages of "Man" finally developed into an argument between Lord Raglan and Mr. Driberg, to which Capt. Stoneham also contributed, about whether Nilotic girls are "bartered" or "knocked down to the highest bidder in the marriage mart," a question which does not concern us here, especially as it seems that Lord Raglan does not hold that this is, in fact, the fate of Nilotic girls.

Now it is clear why each of these terms are acceptable to one or two students while they appear to be quite inadequate, if not absurd, to everyone else. No single lexicographic expression can, owing to the limitations of language, concisely symbolize all the functions of bride-wealth, and it is apparent that there is little likelihood of agreement among specialists, at present, about which aspect is the fundamental one. I do not wish to express any opinion in this place which I consider to be the most important of those functions of bride-wealth to which attention has been drawn, or indeed whether they all have, in fact, great importance. Readers of books about African tribes are aware that bride-wealth has a great number of aspects. It plays its part in marriage both before and after it becomes a full union, it continues to have an influence during the whole history of the partnership and even after the death of either partner. Consequently it is associated with a large number of cultural elements.

I do not myself see the necessity of using a symbol which refers to any one particular function of this wealth as is the case with "price," "earnest," and "indemnity," but propose instead the term which I have used throughout this paper, "bride-wealth." It may not be entirely free from objections, but I can see no strong reasons against its usage. It does not attempt to define what are the many aspects of this transference of wealth in the situation of marriage, for I believe that not a word but a book is necessary to do this adequately for each society. It leaves grading of social functions in order of their importance till the time comes when we shall possess sufficient reliable material for such an analysis. On the other hand the term bride-wealth stresses very definitely the economic value of all the different things which are handed over by the group of a man to the group of a woman as one of the concrete obligations of the union. For, whatever else they may be, cattle, spears, goats, arrows, pots, labour, etc., have an economic value. But while the economic value of these things is suggested in the term "bride-wealth" there is no expressed indication that the wealth has any one particular economic function such as is implied in the word "price," a function which is, as a matter of fact, very little developed among African peoples out of contact with Europeans. For "wealth" is a comprehensive term which neither in economic literature nor in every-day speech has any close association with the ideas of "price" or "purchase." Since "bride-price" has become so well-established a usage, I suggest "bride-wealth" rather than "marriage-wealth" to preserve an appearance of continuity.

I believe that bride-wealth is a term which we can use without ambiguity, and when we wish to be more precise we can use the more restricted terms "bride-money" (e.g. in many parts of South Africa to-day and in Islamic cultures), "bride-cattle" (e.g. in the East African cattle area), "bride-spears" (in many parts of the Congo), "bride-labour" (e.g. among many tribes of Dar Nuba and Dar Fung), and so on. Bride-wealth need not, of course, consist of only one form of wealth in any single community; thus, for example, it will be found that among most African tribes some kind of labour accompanies the transference of bride-cattle or bride-spears as part of the obligations of betrothal and marriage. Sometimes this labour will be found the more irksome of the two forms of bride-wealth, but this is not generally the case where both are found together.

Sometimes labour, being a form of wealth which all possess, acts as a kind of moratorium which enables a poor man to enjoy some of the privileges of married life while he is collecting cattle or spears.⁽⁸⁾

Since the terms proposed by others as alternatives for "bride-price" do not seem to be generally acceptable, I hope that "bride-wealth" will meet with more favourable judgment.⁽⁹⁾

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

REFERENCES.

(¹) E. Torday. "Bride-price, Dowry, or Settlement," *MAN*, January, 1929; "Bride-price," *MAN*, August, 1929; "The Principles of Bantu Marriage," *Africa*, Vol II., 1929. For all references to Mr. Torday's opinions in this paper see these three articles.

(²) E.g. Junod, Smith and Dale, and Rattray.

(³) E. Torday. *Op. cit.*

(⁴) Mr. T. Cullen Young favours the expression "marriage-settlement." See *MAN*, April, 1930. This term is quite rightly condemned by Mr. Torday (*op. cit.*) and Lord Raglan (*MAN*, May, 1930).

(⁵) A. R. Radcliffe Brown, "Bride-price, Earnest or Indemnity," *MAN*, July, 1929.

(⁶) Lord Raglan, "Bride-price," *MAN*, August, 1929.

(⁷) Lord Raglan, "Bride-price," *MAN*, December, 1929, and *MAN*, May, 1930. J. H. Driberg, "Bride-price," *MAN*, October, 1929, and *MAN*, April, 1930. H. F. Stoneham, "Bride-price," *MAN*, April, 1930.

As Mr. Driberg points out, the authorities on whom Lord Raglan relies did not delve deeply into the problems of bride-wealth. I may add that if he had consulted Lagao (*Les Azande*, 'Troisième partie, ch. 4) he would have discovered the real nature of the Zando practice which he quotes (*MAN*, May, 1930) on Brocks' authority.

(⁸) I. Schapera, "Matrilocal Marriage in Southern Rhodesia," *MAN*, July, 1929. I have discovered a custom analogous to those described by Dr. Schapera among the Azande of the Nile-Uelle Divide.

(⁹) Since receiving "proofs" of this paper I have read Capt. J. R. Wilson-Haffenden's book *The Red Men of Nigeria* in which he puts forward for consideration the term "espousal-fee." It is now too late to add his arguments in favour of this expression or my reasons for doubting its value. I can only refer readers to Chap. XI of his book.

Africa, East.

Dallas.

The Sacred Tree of Ol Donyesha. *By Douglas Dallas.*

43

In a remote corner of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, I recently came upon one of the sacred rain trees which, I understand, are quite a feature of Tropical East Africa. There are, however, some peculiarities in this instance which may be of interest to the readers of *MAN*. While in no way professing to be an expert in social anthropology, I offer such information as I was able to gather for what it is worth.

I am well aware that much important detail is lacking; but, the Masai being a nomadic people with no written language, it is difficult to find anyone who knows more than the bare fact that such and such an object is sacred. Nor was it possible in the short time at my disposal to find anyone who had been born in the neighbourhood.

The sacred tree is a solitary tree growing on the very top of a hill, which is one of the highest points in a horseshoe-shaped ridge dominating the countryside for at least twenty miles in any direction. At the foot of the tree is a pond, fed, not by a spring, but by water which trickles down the trunk of the tree from some mysterious source. This pond is alleged to hold water even in times of severe drought. This I cannot vouch for personally; but on the only two occasions when I visited the place there was good water in the pond.

Taking into consideration the facts that the annual rainfall in this part of the country does not exceed 15 inches in a good year; that most of this falls in the months of March and April, or sometimes during May in a year when the "rains" are late; that the tree is on the top of almost the highest point in a

watershed over 7,000 feet in height and at least 1,000 feet higher than any part of the surrounding country; and, lastly, that I found water in the pond towards the end of January in a rather dry year: one may readily understand that the local inhabitants attribute the presence of water to some supernatural agency.

I asked whether anyone would climb the tree to investigate the source of the water, but the very idea produced such consternation that I did not press the matter. The tree is of the species known to the Masai as *Oreteti*. In general shape it reminds one of the giant oak; but its leaves are more of the shape, size and texture of those of the Himalayan rhododendron, though the foliage of *Oreteti* is very much more dense. This particular tree serves as host to a parasite resembling a fig, which has completely encased the trunk to a depth of at least 6 inches, and has spread through the whole tree, without, however, killing it.

I was told that there was once a sacred grove of lesser trees around this Ol Donyesha tree, but that it was destroyed by the Germans during their occupation of the country; whether as a punitive measure or to facilitate their survey work is not known. The tree is a veritable landmark for miles around, and is even visible from a hill over 75 miles away across the plain in the direction of Kilimanjaro. It has a girth of some 30 feet at about 5 feet from the ground, and is about 150 feet high. The ground is clear all round it for about 150 yards, below which the hillside is covered with a tangled mass of evergreen forest composed chiefly of *oreteti*, *ilex* and wild olive.

Only the crest of this ridge is crowned with forest, and while there is at times an appreciable dew, the presence of the water can hardly be attributed to this source; for there are many other apparently similar hills and trees along the 15 miles of forest-covered crest, and, moreover, the other waters of this *massif* all originate in springs at a considerably lower altitude and occur invariably in natural watercourses.

I would like to make it quite clear that the sacred tree is in no sense growing in a crater, but rather that the water seems to lie in a series of shallow depressions between the massive gnarled roots of the tree, while the approximately flat area round the tree is less than an acre in extent.

As evidence of the antiquity of the tradition regarding this tree may be cited the quantity of ornaments and other objects, chiefly of crude metal or wire, which, having been twisted round the young stems of the parasite growth, are now deeply imbedded in the wood. This practice is still maintained, and no Masai will touch the tree without having attached some trinket to some handy portion of the trunk.

The tree is sacred to a benevolent deity, l'Engai Narok, the Black Rain God, whose function it is to mitigate the ferocity of l'Engai Nanyokye, the other presiding, and more powerful, spirit of Masai mythology. I could find, however, no evidence to support the usual function of such a tree as a place where prayers and offerings are made in times of severe drought.

On the other hand, the presiding deity of the tree is credited with the power of stimulating the birth rate, and from time to time the women of the Matapu clan of the Masai resort to the tree to invoke the assistance of the deity. The ceremony is only attended by the married women young enough to bear children, and, moreover, only takes place when there is alarming and exceptional evidence of a general local failure to produce children.

So far as I can gather, the function of the deity is in no sense to cause miraculous fertility, but rather to indicate the individual responsible for the witchcraft, to which is attributed such an abnormal and unsatisfactory state of affairs. The ceremony takes place in the twilight before sunrise, and all the women taking part in it are completely nude except for their ornaments. Each

woman carries two long narrow gourds, that in the right hand containing milk and that in the left hand honey, each gourd being loosely stoppered with a twist of grass. The women form a ring around the tree and circle about it in a measured dance to the rhythm of a chant, in which one leads and the others sing the chorus. At a given signal all the women lift the gourds above their heads and precipitate their contents in the direction of the tree.

The magical power of the deity prevents the ejection of the contents of the gourds held by the woman or women who are witches; even, so I was assured, if the grass stopper is removed, the witch cannot shake out the contents of her gourd in the direction of the tree. If, however, the gourd is handled by an innocent woman, the god will readily accept the offering, even if the gourd is tightly stoppered with grass.

My informants professed to be ignorant of the words of the chant or incantation sung by the women as they dance round the tree.

The fate of anyone thus convicted of witchcraft is obscure. I was told that they are driven forth from the community, but I could get no further information on the subject. It is highly probable that in the old days the guilty parties were sacrificed, partly as a fee to the deity for his assistance, and partly as an effective method of rendering them incapable of doing further mischief. It is probable also that the sacred grove was connected with this fertility ceremony rather than with the supernatural presence of water, which seems to be looked on as the outward and visible sign of the presence of the benevolent deity.

Though I am told that no man may be present at the ceremony, yet, among a people whose every project was first submitted to the hereditary head of a sacerdotal cross-clan, functioning as the mouthpiece of the deity—a people, moreover, whose social system is essentially patrilocal, patrilineal and patripotestal—I think one may safely assume that the operations were directed by the chief local representative of the sacerdotal clan.

In hazarding a guess that the night before the ceremony was spent in an orgy, which possibly might account for the increased fertility which, I am assured, invariably follows one of these ceremonies, I am supported by the following interesting comment made by an elder of the Kissongo clan of the Masai. This clan has reoccupied the adjacent country only in comparatively recent years. The elder in question seemed to know as much about the sacred qualities of the tree as did the Matapatu elders, but he was emphatic on the point that the ceremony was confined to the Matapatu.

On being asked why the Kissongo women did not also avail themselves of the magical assistance of the deity, he replied, to my astonishment, that they did not know the tradition, and that the elders of the clan did not propose to instruct them, as they did not approve of the idea of their womenfolk being "out on the loose" all night.

He may have been telling lies for some secret motive; or, as I think more likely, having in the past broken away from a superstition, which gave their wives the right to indulge in promiscuous intercourse with members of a cross-clan otherwise taboo, the Kissongo elders are reluctant to encourage them to start the practice again.

This may sound contradictory in view of the reputation of the Masai for promiscuity. Their promiscuity is, however, strictly limited by certain rigid taboos in this very direction, which have been dealt with at length by Sir Claud Hollis and other authorities.

DOUGLAS DALLAS.

Africa, West:

Hambly.

A Trident from Sierra Leone in the Collections of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. *By W. D. Hambly.*

44



TRIDENT FROM SIERRA LEONE. IN THE COLLECTION OF THE FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, CHICAGO.

The presentation of a trident to Field Museum is of interest in connection with notes which appeared in *MAN*, 1929, No. 147, and 1930, No. 56. The trident was presented by Mrs. W. G. Burt along with other objects brought from Sierra Leone by her father in 1901. There is no information respecting the use of this object or its exact place of origin.

The full length is 127 cms. The three-pointed blade measures 13 cms. across in its widest part. The length of the blade only is 41 cms. The chasing on the steel of the blade is executed with great care and precision. The staff is of hard dark wood, bound with thin brass just below the blade. At the butt there is a metal (iron or steel) contrivance having a sharp edge.

This trident may have been carried ceremonially after the manner of an ornamental paddle or wooden staff. It is, however, a very formidable two-ended weapon.

The form is unlike that of the tridents mentioned by writers in *MAN*. Information respecting its locality and use would be welcome. I should like to add that objects from Cameroon (*MAN*, 1930, No. 45) are in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the photographs. Through some oversight the name of the museum was not mentioned.

WILFRID D. HAMBLY.

Africa, East: Archæology.

Huntingford.

Ancient Roads and Dykes in Kenya Colony. *By G. W. B. Huntingford.*

45

In certain parts of Kenya Colony there have been noticed works which are not due to natural causes, and which have been thought by some to be the sunk lines of ancient roadways. They consist of U or V-shaped depressions running generally across the slopes of ridges. Some that I have examined contain sharp turns, with angles greater than are usually found in any kind of road, ancient or modern, and they seem to be more like dykes or ditches than roads. A parallel with the ancient boundary dykes in the south and west of England immediately suggests itself. Such dykes have been noted (1) near the confluence of the Ain' ap Setan and Kipkaren rivers in N. Nandi (about a mile and a half south of Kipkaren post office); these are now ploughed over. (2) On Tilolwa ridge, N. of Kâpsabet, where the telegraph line crosses the Kisumu-Eldoret road, on the north side of the road. (3) At mile 82 on the Uasin Gishu Railway, on the west side of the line, running

in a S.W. direction at an angle of about 40° to the line. It is certain that these dykes are not the result of rain washing out disused cattle-tracks, as the position of the dykes (some across the slope) and the even depth and width are such as never occur in natural formations.

There are also trackways of a different type to be found in various parts of the country. A track, thought to be ancient, but unfortunately never fully traced, crosses the southern part of the Uasin Gishu plateau, and has been observed in the forest region, e.g., in the neighbourhood of Ainabkoi (Nandi, Ain' ap koi, rocky river). Another road crosses Tindiret hill, south of Nandi. Both these two roads may join the ancient trackway which is said to lead across the Mau escarpment. A third ancient road runs parallel with the left bank of the Kundos river in S. Nandi, and goes towards Tindiret. It has the appearance of a carefully graded road, and may join the other roads on the Mau. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

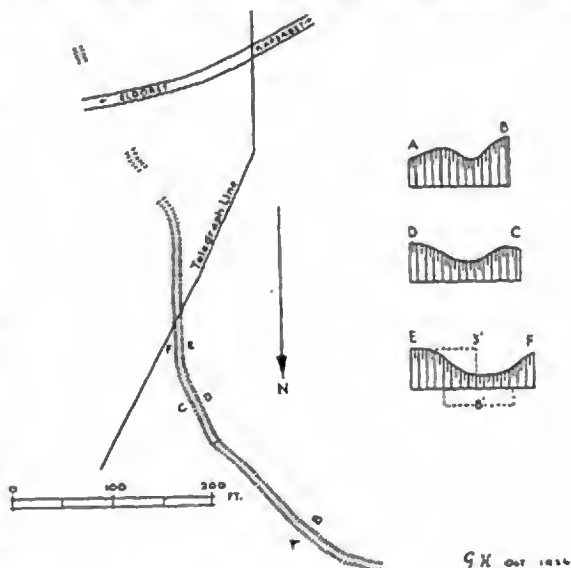


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF A DYKE ON TILOLWA RIDGE, NANDI.

Nigeria.

Agricultural and Pastoral Implements of the Peoples of Argungu Emirate. By P. G. Harris, District Officer, Argungu Division.

Harris.

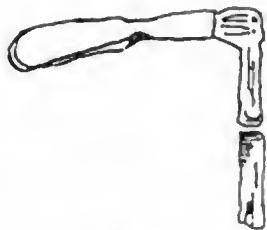
46

IMPLEMENTS EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE.

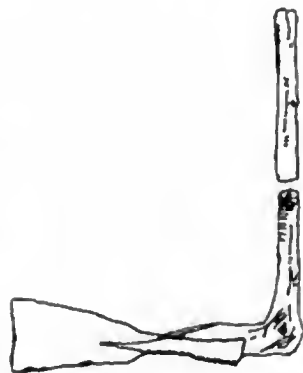
(1) *Tsimma* or *Chimma*.—This is an implement peculiar to the people of Arewa and is of the nature of a spade. At harvest time the Arawa dig up the corn stalks



(1) TSIMMA. 4 ins.



(2) GARDISHI. 10 ins.



(3) SUNGUMMI. 9 ins.

3 ft. 6 ins.

by the root with the *tsimma* instead of just cutting them off close to the ground as is done by most other Hausa peoples. Similarly, when the corn has been lying out

for seven or eight days' drying the *tsimma* is used for lopping off the heads instead of the sickle (*lauje*) as is done by other Hausa people.

The reason for digging up the corn complete with the root is that in Arewa country there is no manure available for the farms, and it is considered that the action of insects and weather upon the corn stalks and their roots left lying on the farm has a beneficial effect—like that of manure—upon the land.

The *tsimma* is also used for the general purposes of a spade.

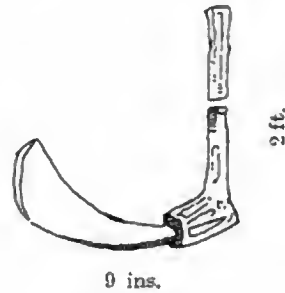
(2) *Gabdeshi*.—An implement peculiar to the Arawa, it is used as its appearance would suggest, for "stumping" new farms. The Arawa, not being accustomed to working with manure, prefer to farm by the very extravagant method of clearing new bush every year and burning trees as wood ash manure. The *gabdeshi* is also used by carpenters for rough-shaping the wooden implements they make.

(3) *Sungummi*.—This implement is common to most Hausa people, and is used in the sowing of the crops. The sower goes along his farm, dropping the blade of the *sungummi* at fairly regular intervals; he is followed by his family, men, women and children, who drop the seed into the holes made by the *sungummi* and cover the holes over with their toes.

(4) *Kalme*.—This is the most widely used implement for clearing and weeding the farm after the crop has been sown at the farming periods called "*noman furri*," "*mai mai*" and "*sassaria*." The *kalme* is, I believe, peculiar to the Kebbawa and the Zamfarawa. It is also used for mixing earth for building purposes.



(4) KALME



(5) DUNGA

(5) *Dunga*.—This implement, which is called "*hauya*" in Sokoto and "*fartanya*" in Kano, is a farming tool of lighter weight than the *kalme* and is consequently more used by women and children than by men. It is also used for mixing earth for building

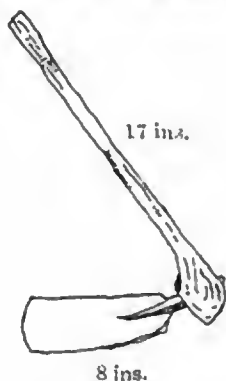
(6) *Kwasa Duke* (The *kwasa* used in a stooping position).—This is used for clearing the farm preparatory to sowing and is the same implement as that known variously in Kano as the "*masassabi*" and "*magirbi*."

Among the Kebbawa, however, its main purpose is for sowing rice in the marsh land. After the rice seed has been thrown into the broken up hard marsh soil (*laka*) the sower breaks up the large clods of earth with the *kwasa duke* and covers over the seed. Women do not use this implement as the strain of the continued stooping is too much for them. They use instead the—

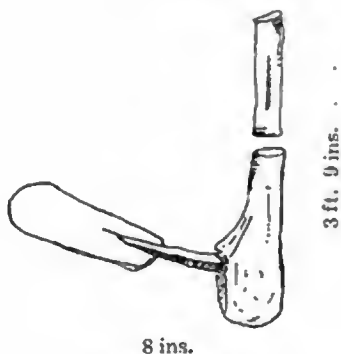
(7) *Kwasa Tsaye* (The *kwasa* used standing up).—This is used by women for sowing rice and also for the preliminary arduous breaking up of the marsh ground (*zaffa*). It is not as heavy as the implement used by men for that purpose and which is called—

(8) *Kumbu*.—Both this and the *kwasa tsaye* are essentially Kebbe implements, although they are now used by rice farmers everywhere in Sokoto Province. The

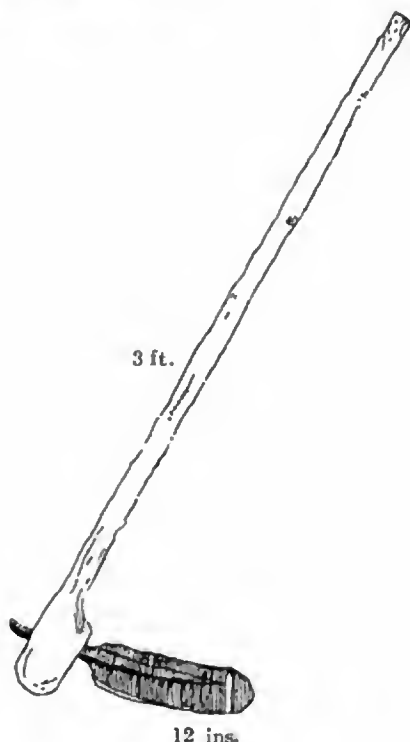
length of the centre reinforcement of the *kumbu* (called the "*zuchiya*"—"heart") is noteworthy as this implement has to stand very heavy work.



(6) KWASA DUKE



(7) KWASA TSAYE



(8) KUMBU

(9) *Hauya Tsaye*.—This is an implement peculiar to the Arawa, Zabeimawa, Kurfayawa in Argungu Emirate. It is also used in the Daura and Kazaure Emirates



(9) HAUYA TSAYE



(10) GAGAPA

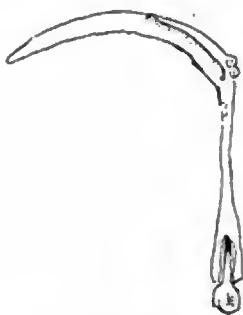


(11) KISIOI

and by certain people in the northern areas of the Katsina Emirate. The purpose of the *hauya tsaye*, which is used, as its name implies, in a standing position, is for clearing the farm after the crop has been sown, and the great difference between this and implements of the *kalme* and *hauya* type is that the earth is turned over away from the farmer and not towards him. The shaft of the *hauya tsaye* has a detachable grip called the "*kuku*."

(10) *Gagafa*.—This implement is peculiar to the Kebbawa and is used for cutting the edible kernels (*kwalshinni*) of the "Deleb Palm" (*giginya*) and for cutting down the bunches of fan-shaped leaves (*gazari*) of that palm which are much used by the Kebbawa as mosquito protection over the doorways of their houses. The fan shape of the implement would seem to have been inspired from the shape of the palm leaves it is employed in cutting.

(11) *Kijigi*.—This knife is used for cutting rice when ripe and for cutting Dum Palm (*goriba*) fronds, which are used in mat plaiting. It is also used by the Kebbe fish curers for cleaning fish.



(12) LAUJE



(13) GATERI

(12) *Lauje*.—This sickle is made in two sizes, the smaller for cutting grass and the heads of corn, and the larger for cutting the weed called "*bau*," which is the great enemy of the rice farmers (see under "Rice Farming").

(13) *Gateri*.—This is just an axe and is common to all Hausa people.

RICE FARMING.

Zaffa.—The first process in rice-farming as done by the Kebbawa is that called "*zaffa*," which is the preparing and breaking up the marsh ground with the implement called the "*kumbu*." *Zaffa* is done at any time after the rice harvest and before the succeeding year's rains. The work entailed is very arduous and takes a man anything from ten days up to three months, working eight hours a day or more, according to the size of his rice plot. The farmer, if he has any sons, is helped by them on every day of the week, except Fridays and Sundays, which are the two days of rest in the week observed by the Kebbawa; the Friday's rest is in deference to Islam, while the Sunday, which is the original day of rest, is retained in deference to the older gods.

On the Friday and Sunday, therefore, the sons, if they are worth their salt, go out and prepare their own smaller—of necessity—rice plots so as to make pin money for themselves. It is not customary for a son to leave off helping his father, even though he has grown up and married, until either he has sons old enough to help him or his father has other sons old enough to help him, in either of which cases the father will let his son go and farm his own rice plot.

Women do not commence to work on the rice farm until they are married, when they assist their husbands and sons in the sowing of the seed but do not work at *zaffa*. The husband, however, always gives his wife or wives a portion of his

plot (*fagge*)—unless she has inherited from her own house a plot which is sufficient for her needs—so that she may have it to work for herself and keep the profits. On their own plots, however, they do work at *zaffa* and the husbands usually help them with this work on the two days of rest, Friday and Sunday.

The women do not use the heavy *kumbu* for breaking up the ground, but work with the *kwasa tsaye* which is lighter; their unmarried daughters, although they never help the father on his plot, bring out food to their parents and stop and help their mothers in preparing their (the women's) plots.

The average size of a man's plot (*faggen miji*) is 3,197 square yards, while those of a woman (*faggen mala*) and a youth (*faggen ba-barkonne*) are on an average 16,812 and 7,860 square feet respectively.

Walse.—After the first (*ruwan fari*) or second (*biko*) rain of the year the sowing (*walse*—scattering) of the rice seed is begun. The father, wives and sons go out and scatter the seed upon the broken lumps of hard marsh soil and then break up the lumps by means of the *kwasa duke* (if men) or the *kwasa tsaye* (if women), thus covering over the seed. The sowing of the father's plot is done piece by piece (*kyebu*) every day until the whole plot is finished, and this may take anything from seven days to a month. The women and youths do not sow their plots except on the Fridays and Sundays.

Chirra.—The next process is that of weeding (*chirra*), which takes place when the rice is about a foot or more off the ground and before the marsh has begun to be flooded by water from the river. This first weeding (called *chirra tudu*—weeding of the dry ground) is done by hand on the plot of the father and is done by the women and sons as well as by the father. The second weeding (*chirran ruwa*—weeding of the water) is done after the marsh has been flooded; this may be anything from twenty days to a month after the first weeding.

The women and sons weed their own plots on the Fridays and Sundays only as in *zaffa* and *walse*.

The greatest enemy of the rice farmer is the weed called *bau*. Other weeds are *babachi*, *gundam*, *farin burgu*, *tukurra*, and *yaryadi*. Of these weeds the only ones that can be identified from Dalziel's Botanical Vocabulary are *tukurra*, which is *Melochia corchorifolia*, Linn. (Malvaceae) and *yaryadi*, which is *Ipomaea* sp. (Convolvulaceae)—a convolvulus or "Morning Glory."

Dono.—When the marsh is in full flood—and when the water is in some places so deep as to cover a man—the *Kebbe* man who wishes to prepare a new rice plot for the coming season or who has let his old plot go unworked for a year or so and wishes to re-work it in the coming season, goes out on the marsh in his punt (*bungu bungu*) and dives into the water with a sickle (*lauje*) in his hand and cuts the weed *bau* by the roots in the area he has chosen. This operation is called *dono*, and takes from ten to twenty days, according to the size of the area thus prepared. The purpose of *dono* is that when the weed has been cut at the marsh level the water enters into the root and causes it to rot and thus, when the marsh has dried up, the ground is found to be already broken up by the chemical action thus caused. The rotting *bau* also acts as a manure and fertilises the ground, and so in the following year the farmer will be spared the heavy work of breaking up the ground. Unless the farmer does this operation in good time the *bau* does not rot, and therefore his work is of no avail and he will have to prepare the plot once again with the *kumbu* in the following year. Women do not do this work, but pay men to prepare their plots in this way.

Yankan Shinkafa.—The last process is that of *yankan shinkafa* (cutting the rice), which takes place about a fortnight after the rice is ripe. The heads are cut

off with the knife called *kijigi* and the stalks are left as they are on the rice plot. Cattle and donkeys are sent out on to the marsh when the water has gone and eat the rice stalks. Afterwards, when the dry season is at its height, what remains is set alight and thus has a manuring effect upon the ground.

Kitilla.—When the rice heads have been cut they are piled up in two or three piles (*kitilla*, plural *kitilleli*) in the rice farm and covered up with dried *bau*. About a month later the rice is threshed with a flail (*sanda buggu*), put in a leather or mat container (*taiki* or *saulo*) and carried away by donkeys. On arrival at its destination it is put into the corn bin (*rufewa*) and there stored.

The hulling process known as *gummi* in Sokoto and *gwandu* is not done by Kebbe women.

P. G. HARRIS.

Africa, West: Technology.

Daniel.

An Agricultural Implement from Sokoto, Nigeria. By F. Daniel, 47
The Residency, Zaria, Nigeria.

The accompanying illustrations (Figs. 1 and 2) show an agricultural implement known as "Kworami" in use in certain parts of Sokoto Province and the Northern districts of Katsina Emirate, Nigeria. The Kworami is only suitable for use in light



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

friable soil. It is in effect a rudimentary form of hand plough. It is used for preparing the ground for sowing, but more generally for keeping down surface weed and turning over the top soil.

It will be observed that there are two varieties: one all metal, the other with a long wooden handle. The head is of metal and crescent-shaped, and the haft is adjusted at an angle to enable the user to stand upright.

The metal head is called Kanki (the Hartebeest) from its shape suggesting the horns of the West African Hartebeest. The wooden haft is called Kaboro and the cross handle Antakwariya. Alternative names are Hauya Tsaye. The upright Hoe, Hauya Zabarma (the Zabarma Hoe).

F. DANIEL.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

New Guinea.

Bateson.

Head Hunting on the Sepik River. *Summary of a communication presented by Gregory Bateson, 13th January, 1931.*

48

After illustrations of the culture of the middle portion of the Sepik River, a text dictated by a native of Mindimbit Village was read in translation. As a linguistic specimen this text is useless, being in a simplified jargon helped out by gestures. But it describes vividly a head-hunting raid on the natives of the Sud River, and refers to the customs and ritual connected with these raids. The raids are organised by shamans (men "possessed" by totemic ancestral spirits) who foretell the success of the raid and excite the raiding party by violent hysterical performances. The text describes the ritual re-entry of the party into the village, the killing of the victims, and the ceremonies gone through by a boy when he has killed for the first time. These include a ritual rebirth from the belly of his mother's brother and a number of rites in which female relatives perform as men. There is a ceremonial purification of the heads, of the weapons used, of the killers, and of the relative whose duty it was to clean the heads. Finally there is a series of dances and feasts provided by the killer, at which the heads are exhibited.

Annual Meeting.

Annual General Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute. *Tuesday, 27th January, 1931.*

49

The Officers and Council were elected, to serve on this occasion until the end of June, in accordance with the recent change in Article 25.

The Rivers Memorial Medal was awarded to Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, Ph.D., London School of Economics, for his fieldwork in Melanesia.

The President, Professor J. L. Myres, M.A., D.Sc., D.Litt., F.B.A., gave an Address on the various types of "clash of culture" which result, according to the different grades and types of culture and the circumstances under which they meet.

It was resolved that this Address should be published in full by the Institute.

Malaya.

Blagden.

Peoples of British Malaya. *Open Public Lecture by C. O. Blagden, M.A., 11th February, 1931.*

50

The fifth lecture of the open Public Course on the "Native Races of the Empire" described this "Land's End" of South-Eastern Asia and link with the Malay Archipelago; its geographical position, physical characteristics, relations with India, Indo-China, China, and the Archipelago; and situation on the trade-route through the Straits of Malacca. With an equatorial and insular climate, equable, hot and damp, with heavy rainfall and a mountainous interior, it is a land of forests, almost impenetrable until recently, except by the rivers.

Its political divisions and government must be considered in relation with their historical background.

Its population, about 3½ millions, but only 54 per cent. locally born, includes many races: Chinese, Indians of various sorts, Europeans, Arabs, etc., mainly attracted by tin mines, rubber, and general trade.

But the real natives of the country are:—(1) the so-called Aborigines (about 32,000), including (a) Negroid pygmies in the North; (b) a wavy-haired race in the Centre; and (c) a more straight-haired race in the South much like the Malays. They are a peaceful and formerly oppressed set of tribes, with various stages of culture

and modes of life, implements, languages, etc. (2) The Malays (about 1½ millions, nearly all locally born), the real people of the country, though traceable to Sumatra, and ultimately (like their neighbours in the Archipelago) to South-Eastern Indo-China. Widespread and historically affected by Hindu and Muslim influences.

British Malaya is not a conquered country, but attached to the Empire by treaties. The Malay rulers symbolize this political status.

REVIEWS.

Africa: Ethnology.

Descriptive Sociology: African Races. Compiled and abstracted by E. Torday upon the plan organized by Herbert Spencer. Issued by Mr. Spencer's Trustees. 385 pp. 19½ in. × 12½ in. Map. 1930. Williams & Norgate. Price, £5 5s.

In connection with his "Principles of Sociology," which was published in 1876, Herbert Spencer supervised the compilation of a series of descriptive volumes. By 1881 eight parts on different areas were published. Spencer lost over £3,000 by the enterprise. The volume on "African Races" was compiled by Dr. David Duncan over fifty years ago. Since then Africa has opened up and tribes of whom Duncan and Spencer never heard have been studied. Realizing that an entirely new compilation was now necessary, Mr. Spencer's Trustees entrusted the task to Mr. Emil Torday who, by his long experience in Africa, his linguistic abilities, and his capacity for prolonged toil, was eminently fitted for it. And here is the outcome of several years of assiduous labour.

Mr. Torday says that the Trustees gave him unfettered freedom; but this probably means that they gave him all possible freedom within the terms of the trust by which they are bound. We understand that Herbert Spencer left very definite instructions for the carrying out of such a work: it was to be in one volume, with tables arranged according to a fixed scheme, and so on. It is strange that a philosopher with his outlook should think it possible to stereotype things in this way: evolution, it would seem, was not to apply to the making of books. Some modification has been allowed by the Trustees in the headings, but Mr. Spencer's own order has been observed in the Tables. Neither they nor Mr. Torday is to be blamed if readers are inclined to criticize the form of the book: the dead hand has weighed upon them heavily.

The volume is of an enormous size; we find it unwieldy to handle and it does not fit into any of our bookshelves. Mr. Torday says that he has tried to compile a book that men in Africa, who have to go beyond the reach of libraries, can consult in their

researches. It will prove invaluable to them, but they will not find it easy to carry about. We wish it could have been possible to publish the book in several parts.

Mr. Torday regards the Sahara as the threshold of Africa, and Semites and Hamites as un-African. They are therefore dealt with only in so far as they affect "the real Africans." In his interesting Introduction he dispenses with the Hamitic hypothesis in accounting for the cleavage between Sudanics and Bantu: he will not allow that the Hamites have contributed to the culture and physique of the latter; the difference between the two sections of the Negro people is due to environment and separation by the belt of virgin forest which precluded intercommunication. This view diverges considerably from that of Dr. Seligman, who says that the civilizations of Africa are the civilizations of the Hamites, and its history the record of these peoples and of their interaction with the Negro and Bushman. Mr. Torday will not have it that the pastoral forbears of Hadendoa and Beja could ever originate any civilization, Bantu or other.

Over 800 tribes and sub-tribes are named in the book. They are divided into the following sixteen groups: Batwa; Batwa swamp-dwellers; Central Bantu, Forest and Prairie; Eastern, Southern and Western Bantu; Bantu under alien rulers; Nilo Hamitic peoples; Nilotic; Equatorial hybrid tribes; Western and Central Sudanic peoples; Fulani; Bushmen and Hottentots. The plan of the book is as follows: First come seven double pages of Tables. These, arranged by Herbert Spencer, contain brief notes for each group on the inorganic, organic and sociological environment, and on the physical, emotional and intellectual characters. Below these come tabular summaries, in which phenomena are first grouped as Structural and Functional, divided again into Operative and Regulative and then subdivided. Thus Structural-Regulative are divided into Familial, Social and Tribal; Familial into Marital and Filial; Social into Political and Legal, Military, Ecclesiastical and Professional; Tribal into Mutilations, Funeral Rites, Laws of intercourse, Habits and Customs. In

the body of the book the extracted data are arranged under seven headings-in-chief. It may be convenient to readers if we detail the main and principal sub-classes :

- Racial Characteristics : physical, emotional, intellectual.
- Labour : division, regulation.
- Domestic life : marital, filial.
- Social organization : political and legal, military, ecclesiastical, professional, bodily mutilations.
- Tribal Life : Funeral rites, laws of intercourse, habits and customs.
- Mental Characters : aesthetical, moral; religion, knowledge, language.
- Economics : distribution, exchange, production, arts and crafts, agriculture and rearing, landworks, habitation, nutrition, clothing, implements.

It is strange to find religion reappearing under Mental Characters after prayers, sacrifices, etc., have been dealt with under Tribal life. It would be possible to offer other criticisms of the arrangement. The Table of Contents and the Map will enable the reader to find his way about. The Map, prepared by Miss Ursula Torday, shows by numbers the position of the tribes; the figures corresponding to the tribal names in the map index. If, then, a student desires to find information about any particular tribe, he will ascertain from the index its number and the group to which it belongs, and then from the Table of Contents he will find the pages where the facts for that group are recorded. Thereafter a short search among the extracts will reward him; within limits, that is, for not even this big volume can tell everything.

As a rule the data are given in the form of extracts quoted verbatim from the numerous books and periodicals which Mr. Torday has read for the purpose. Where necessary he has translated from French, German or Flemish into good English. Sometimes his own observations take the place of quotations. The extracts are usually short—sometimes only a sentence or two. Occasionally, where writers are verbose, a brief summary is given. Mr. Torday has had, of course, to use his judgment in selecting the material. He has not worked mechanically; often a brief comment of his own expresses a doubt or makes a necessary correction. Not every book written on Africa is quoted from; but evidently everyone that is worthy has been ransacked. We are particularly grateful for the extracts from old writers whose works are not readily accessible. For the enormous labour which he has put into this work, Mr. Torday deserves, and should receive, the heartiest thanks.

Such a book as this may be used wisely or unwisely. It is easy to imagine its becoming the happy hunting ground of fantastic theorists. If anyone uses it as a reservoir of disconnected data without consideration of their cultural connections he will, of course, go astray. But used with discretion as a book of reference it will be of very great service to students. The printing is excellently done, and, so far as we have discovered, typographical errors are extremely few. E. W. SMITH.

Africa, South: Ethnology. Soga.
The South-Eastern Bantu. By J. H. Soga. Pp. 490; 8½ × 5½ in. Supplement No. 4 of *Bantu Studies*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1930. Price 10s. 6d.

This book is described by its editor as "the first considerable attempt made by an educated man of Bantu descent and in touch with Bantu tradition, to present the history of his people in one of the most widely-spoken native languages (isi-Xosa)". On his father's side the author is a descendant of Gaika chiefs; his grandfather and great-grandfather both fell in battle. His father, the well-known Tiyo Soga, married a Scotswoman. Mr. Soga is therefore of mixed descent; he was educated chiefly in Scotland; and he is a Presbyterian minister. But he has followed his father's advice to identify himself with the *Kafirs*—Tiyo Soga used the word in this connection. He has devoted a great number of years to collecting the traditions of his people, and he wrote this book in Xosa—their language and his—for the purpose of instructing the rising generation who are losing touch with their past. He translated it into English at the request of the Department of Bantu Studies of the Witwatersrand University.

English readers, if they will remember the original purpose of the book, may glean from it a great deal of valuable information. They may disregard the earlier chapters because these are frankly based upon histories compiled by Europeans. It is the traditions, diligently collected from old chiefs and councillors, that give value to the book. Mr. Soga is not a mere chronicler. The coastal region of S.E. Africa is the present abode of a great number of tribes and clans thrown together and subject to devastating wars over a long period. Mr. Soga set himself to reduce to order this entangled skein; and the measure of success he has achieved is considerable. He has traced tribal migrations by the locations of the graves of chiefs. With due attention to Great

Houses, Right Hand Houses, Left Hand Houses, Minor Houses, he has investigated and recorded genealogies. And in his unravelling of the many threads he has perceived the importance of the *isikahlelo* (or *isitakazelo*), or royal salutation: tribes, now separate and independent, who use, for example, *Ngcobo* as a salutation are thereby proved to be offshoots from a common stock.

As a result of his studies, Mr. Soga concludes that the South-Eastern Bantu are divided into three branches: Abc-Nguni, Aba-Mbo, and Ama-Lala. The first consists of the Ama-Xosa and, Mr. Soga claims, of the A-Ngoni of the Central African regions. He disputes the assertion, so commonly made, that these invaders of Trans-Zambezia were Zulus. Abo-Nguni was the original name of the undivided tribe, the Ama-Xosa taking the name of their chief, Xosa, who ruled in about 1535 A.D. They moved from the Drakensberg towards the coast in about 1660 A.D. A list of the clans is given on p. 280. Three of these, e.g. the Ama-Gqunukwebe, are said to be of Hottentot origin, and there are two others, the Ama-Banqo and Ama-Nqosini, which are of Basuto origin.

The Ama-Mbo represent the migratory stream which reached Natal from the north in about 1620 A.D.; they are made up of Ama-Mpondo, Ama-Mpondomise, Ama-Bomvana, each tribe consisting of numerous clans.

The Ama-Lala comprise various tribes which were already in occupation when the Aba-Mbo entered Zululand and Natal. Mr. Soga believes them to be derived from the Makalanga. They include Ama-Hlubi, Ama-Bele, Ama-Baca, and Ama-Zulu, but Mr. Soga is not quite sure, because of some uncertainty about the *isitakazelo*, whether the last-named should be in the list. The use of the term "Zulus" to describe all Tsaka's warriors and their descendants is, as he says, "quite unjustified." The Ama-Zulu were in reality an insignificant and comparatively modern tribe; the marrow of Tshaka's armies was the Imi-Tetwa, by whom the Zulus were held in subjection.

Mr. Soga is not always clear in his distinction between "tribe" and "clan." The latter is oxogamous and appears to be an aggregate of families taking the name of a progenitor. Sometimes when there was no male issue of the progenitor, a relative from another branch of the tribe was appointed to keep the house "alive." Such a house is called *ixiba* by the Ama-Xosa, i.e. an appendage of the royal house; it usually took the name of the favourite ox of the first head of the clan. Mr. Soga provides, incidentally, much information

about other customs. He has much to say about polygamy, which he regards as the primary cause of the disunion of the tribes. We learn something about *isi-zi*, the forfeit due to a chief on the death of one of his people. Examples of the quarrels caused when this was withheld may be found on pp. 33, 323, and 361. Of interest, too, is the free gift, or rather levy, of cattle for the chief on his accession; this is *umqolo*—see p. 99 for its significance in tribal organization.

Of many other matters discussed in these pages we may notice the question of the origin of the clicks—see pp. 95, 96. Because the first contacts with Hottentots took place only when the Ama-Xosa had reached the sea coast after about 1660, whereas clicks occur in the names of chiefs who lived long before that date, Mr. Soga believes that the clicks were derived from the Bushmen. His conclusion has been disputed by the Rev. B. J. Ross, a Xosa scholar of long experience, who gives reasons for believing that the clicks were taken over from the Hottentots.

A map showing clearly the tribal migrations would have been a useful addition to this volume. The absence of an index is a serious fault.

E. W. SMITH.

Africa, Central: Ethnography. Tanghe.

De ziel van het Ngbandivolk. Door P. Basiel (Tanghe) van Brugge. 53
Congo Bibliotheek. Brussels. 1929.
Pp. 144.

De Ngbandi naar het leven geschild.
Door P. Basiel Tanghe. Congo Bibliotheek.
Brussels. 1929. Pp. 288. Illustrated.

De Ngbandi. Geschiedkundige Bijdragen.
Door P. Basiel Tanghe. Congo Bibliotheek.
Brussels. 1929. Pp. xvii + 245.

Father Tanghe, whose "De Slang by de Ngbandi" is well known, has put Africanists under further obligation by producing in three volumes: (1) a collection of proverbs, tales, and songs; (2) an ethnological survey; (3) and an historical account of the Ngbandi, a people commonly known under the name of Mongwandi. Either of these names is, however, very vague in its application, and the Europeans include under these designations tribes which are not recognised by the natives as belonging to this people. We find here the confusion which is so characteristic of the peoples living between the Nile-Wellé watershed and the Ubangi river. According to the natives only such individuals are recognized as tribesmen who are Ngbandi by descent and speak the Sndanic Ngandi language; the tribes of their own blood who have adopted another Sudanic or a Bantu tongue, or people who speak

Ngbandi but are of foreign origin, are considered aliens. But just as among the Azande, we find that after a time these Ngbandi-speaking strangers make alterations in their genealogies so as to fit in with that of the real Ngbandi and become thus gradually absorbed in the tribe. The author declares that he knows of no village whose population can claim pure Ngbandi blood, while he believes that tribes on the Ubangi who no longer know of their origin are really Bantuized Ngbandi. In the first volume we find among the stories a number which concern *Tiya*, who appears to correspond to the *Tule* of the Azande, but, in the examples given, he is much more dignified and less given to those pranks which characterize the Zande hero; he is more of a sage than that good-for-nothing *Tule* and consequently less amusing. The folk-lore is given in Ngbandi with a translation and, when necessary, with an explanation. The ethnological volume deals with social life and religion. Here the author omits many details which one would like to know; we are left to infer that there is such a thing as clan organization; we are not told what the enjoined and prohibited unions are, and even as to descent we are left in doubt, except that we are informed that though inheritance is patrilineal and that primogeniture prevails, ancestry on the mother's side is paramount in family matters and that matrilineal genealogies are carried much further back and do not lose their significance after a time as the patrilineal ones do. Concerning religion, no distinction is made between animism and dynamism, and such a statement as that the Ngbandi "recognize a "soul, i.e. an inherent force (*Kracht*)" in animate and inanimate objects, leaves us in doubt as to which of the two is correct. There are some principal spiritual beings, including Earth, Sky, and Atmosphere, with a creator, *Nzapa*, who, however, appears to be the original ancestor and who shares in the worship paid to the less remote forefathers. But all this is very vague. There are observations concerning the snake and the leopard (especially the connection of the former with twins) which point to totemism. Further research will probably reveal that there is more than simple metempsychosis in the reported association of departed souls with wild animals. Men of noble blood may not eat of the leopard's flesh, and the souls of departed chiefs dwell in leopards. In one region the souls go after death into antelopes. Dead leopards are honoured and deposited in ancestral shrines. The author believes that the snake is worshipped for its own sake and the leopard in honour of the departed spirits.

In the volume dealing with history, some misgivings will be aroused from the beginning by such a statement that the pale people before whom the Azande fled to their present abode in the fifteenth century must have been "beyond the "slightest doubt (*zonder den minsten "twijfel*)" Jews, because one authority states that they were called *Azudia* = *A-Zudia* = people of Judea; and as another author calls them *Abara*, these Jews came through a town called *Bara* in Kordofan. However, there is quite enough sound material in this volume shedding light on the history of the region, and this is well worth studying. Father Tangho has to be thanked for his indefatigable labours and can be trusted that in future communications he will clear up some of the doubts left in our mind after the study of these valuable volumes.

E. TORDAY.

Africa, East: Ethnology.

Stam.

The Bahanga. By N. Stam. 54
Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference. Vol. I, Number 4, pp. 143-179. Washington, D.C., U.S.A. 1 map and 2 figures. 1929. Price \$0.60.

The Bahanga or Wanga, as the author states, are a Bantu tribe of East Africa, inhabiting the country between Mt. Elgon and Victoria Lake. They are neighbours of the Bageshu and the Nandi, and seem to be closely related to the Bantu Kavirondo mentioned by Mr. C. W. Hobley.*

Very little, if at all, is known about these interesting people. Therefore a paper of even such modest dimensions is a welcome addition to the science of anthropology.

The paper begins with a historical sketch of the Bahanga, and then gives short descriptions of their burial rites, sacrifices, religious conceptions, omens and divination, birth and marriage customs, and so on. As far as its descriptive portion is concerned nothing but high praise can be bestowed on it. But when the author leaves his descriptions and goes into theorising he seems to be unaware of some conclusions arrived at by other anthropologists; or at least he passes them by in silence. He admits that the "native "lives in a world of spirits. He is constantly "thinking of himself and is full of fear "because all around him try to do him "harm" (p. 169; cf. p. 162), and mentions a variety of sacrifices for the purpose of appeasing the enraged ghosts. Yet, on p. 151, he says that on the third day after

* C. W. Hobley, "British East Africa, Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIII (1903); cf. pp. 346 sq.

a person's death "all shave their heads as a token of sympathy." The real reason of shaving a mourner's head is not sympathy but, as Sir James G. Frazer has pointed out,* it is to change the appearance of the mourner so much that the ghost of the deceased may not be able to recognize him and pursue him with his vengeance.

Reading a description of the religion of the Bahanga one is almost forced to believe that they are a monotheistic people. Stam writes: "In reality, however, they adore 'the one God, the creator and life-giver' (p. 160). If that is correct it is undoubtedly through the influence of the Christian missionaries among them, and not their own conception of God. Of their belief in an eternal soul the reviewer frankly admits his scepticism. If life after death 'has no end,' if the soul 'has freedom of movement just as he had

* (Sir) J. G. Frazer, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," p. 285. I accepted this explanation in my "L'Ethnologie du Bengale" (Paris, 1927), p. 73, and "A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology" (London, 1928), p. 226.

"when living," how would it be possible "to get him *permanently* away from the 'kraal'" (p. 162) simply by burning the body of the deceased and scattering the ashes? This is a question the author does not answer.

Many important data are to be found in Stam's paper. Thus we have traces of snake- and tree-worship (pp. 164, 158), belief in witchcraft (p. 164), the efficacy of the human saliva (p. 160), and so on. The Bahanga do not seem to be exogamous, although some form of totemism exists among them. "Those of the same totem 'may and do marry. The natives do not consider themselves descended from 'their totem' (p. 177). Those interested in primitive religion will find plenty of material to study, although the author's prejudices lessen the scientific value of the paper. On the whole the paper is a valuable contribution, and we are grateful to Dr. J. M. Cooper, the Secretary of the Conference, for the excellent printing and general get up of the paper. The price, too, is very moderate for America.

BIREN BONNERJEA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Africa, East. Stoneham : Raglan.

East African Languages.

To the Editor of MAN.

SIR,—In MAN, 1929, 131, Lord **55** Raglan discusses the different terminations of words in the Lotuko and Dinka languages, and suggests not only that the vowel terminations of the former are due to their villages being situated at the tops of rocky hills, whereas the consonant terminations of the Dinka originate from their dwelling in the swampy forests of the Nile, but also that languages can be divided into two classes, "which may be called 'shouting languages' and 'non-shouting languages' according to whether the people who evolved them did or did not find long-distance conversation a necessity."

The languages of East and East Central Africa fall into three well-defined groups (excluding the Coast), viz., A. Nilotic, B. Hamitic, and C. Bantu. The terminal consonant is a peculiarity of both the Nilotic and Hamitic groups, but is not found amongst the Bantu dialects. Nevertheless, tribes of all three groups occupy both mountainous and hilly country as well as valleys, plains and low-lying terrain, as will be shown below. This being so, the peculiarity cannot be of recent origin and we must look further for the cause of the phenomenon.

Taking each of the three groups in turn, we will be able to analyse the various types of country they now occupy.

A. Nilotic.

Comprising, among others—1. The Dinka; 2. The Acholi; 3. The Lango; and 4. The Luo.

1. The Dinka occupy "swampy forests."

2. The Acholi occupy for the most part open rolling plains, but also mountainous, hilly and rocky country.

3. The Lango occupy the open undulating, and in some parts swampy, country north of Lake Kioga.

4. The Luo occupy the open undulating country east of Lake Victoria.

B. Hamitic.

Comprising—1. The Masai; 2. The Nandi; 3. The Turkana and Suk; 4. The Lotuko; 5. The Marakwet, the Elgeyu, the Moyiben, the Kamasia and others; and 6. The Sabei.

1. The Masai extend over a very extensive area through a large part of Kenya Colony and into Tanganyika Territory. For the most part their country is open steppe, but included therein is every sort of country from the heights of Elgon and Mau to the lowlands of the Great Rift Valley.

2. The Nandi, on the other hand, occupy chiefly hilly and highland territory.

3. The Turkana and Suk occupy the low open plains in the Northern parts of Kenya Colony, but alongside of them are the people of Karamoja, Dodinga, Jiwe, etc., occupying highlands and speaking a practically identical tongue.

4. The Lotuko occupy mountainous country.

5. The Marakwet, Elgeyu, Moyiben and Kamasia occupy all sorts of country from some of the low-lying parts of the Great Rift Valley to the escarpments adjoining Nandiland.

6. The Sabei occupy the Northern slopes of Mount Elgon.

Yet both these groups employ the stopped consonant.

Finally C. *The Bantu*.

The Bantu tribes that need be considered include—1. The Ba-Ganda; 2. The Ka-Wanga; 3. The Ba-Gishu; 4. The A-Kikuyu; and 5. The A-Kamba.

1. The Ba-Ganda occupy the low lake country west of Lake Victoria, and, it may be added, the Awa-Kisii also occupy low country to the south-east of Lake Victoria.

2. The Ka-Wanga occupy similar country to the Nilotic Luo, around Mumias, as do also the Kitosh and the Ka-Kamega, whilst

3. The Ba-Gishu and

4. The A-Kikuyu both occupy mountainous and hilly country, the former on Mount Elgon and the latter from Mount Kenya to Kijabe.

Finally 5, the A-Kamba occupy low country lying between Nairobi and the coast.

It seems therefore that present environment has little bearing on the formation of these languages, some of which must be very archaic, unless it can be shown that these peoples have occupied their present lands for all time. But the evidence is against this.

It is generally agreed that the Nilotic tribes and the Hamitic tribes invaded the countries they now occupy, conquering or dispersing the original inhabitants, who were doubtless of Bantu stock. Somali influence can be traced throughout many of the Hamitic group, and both this group and the Nilotic group have probably a distant relationship with the tongues of ancient Egypt.

Mr. Cardale Luck (*vide* "The Origin of the 'Maasai and Kindred African Tribes and of 'Bornean Tribes,'" *Journal E. Af. and Uganda Nat. Hist. Society* Aug. 1926) has written much of interest bearing on the origin of many of these tribes, and also on their possible common origin with Bornean tribes. Sir Harry Johnston ("Uganda Protectorate," vol. 2, p. 888) says, referring to the stopped consonant of the Nilotic and some of the Masai and Nandi languages, that it is similar to the "Silent 'Kaf'" in the Malay.

In conclusion, therefore, I think we must go very much farther back into the histories of these peoples before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of this phonetic peculiarity, and we may find its origin in Western or Central Asia. In any case, present environment of these tribes I think can have had but little influence if any.

It is of interest to observe here that Bantu peoples pronouncing words they have borrowed from other languages often add a final vowel, irrespective of where they dwell. On the other hand, Nilotic Luo natives speaking Ki Swahili frequently omit the terminal vowel of that language, thus speaking it as though the words ended with a stopped consonant.

H. F. STONEHAM, *Major*.

East Surrey Estates, P.O. Kitale,
Trans-Nzoia, Kenya Colony.

Major Stoneham omits to mention some of the most important Nilotic tribes, the Shiluk, Anuak and Nuer, all of whom are swamp dwellers.

He says that the original inhabitants of the Nilo-Hamitic area were "doubtless of Bantu 'stock.'" Whatever may be the case further

south, it seems clear that no Bantu language was ever spoken in the Sudan.

It is improbable that any of the languages in question originated in the areas in which they are now spoken, but I believe that most of the Nilo-Hamitic tribes have been settled in their present areas for far longer than is usually supposed, and that linguistic modifications are continually in progress.

I have not seen Mr. Luck's paper, but have also been struck by the resemblance between the Hamitic and Bornean languages.

RAGLAN.

With reference to Lord Raglan's note, the languages referred to by me in the three groups were (as stated) mainly of East and East Central Africa. Bantu stock may have occupied parts of the Sudan prior to the arrival of the Nilo-Hamitics, but it is impossible to dogmatize on this nowadays.

H. F. STONEHAM, *Major*.

"Parknasilla," Kitale: Kenya Colony.
28 Dec. 30.

Africa, East.

Hopwood.

Correlation of the East African Pleistocene.

To the Editor of MAN.

56

SIR,—The deposits at Oldoway, described by Professor Hans Reck in a recent paper before the Royal Anthropological Institute (MAN, 1931, 9), are of importance to anthropologists because in them was found a human skeleton which was in a contracted posture and which, according to Professor Reck, is contemporaneous with the beds. This view has not been generally accepted, and much has been heard of a contracted burial, supposedly of later date and therefore intrusive into the bed in which the skeleton was found. This point is discussed in full in Professor Reck's paper, and on the evidence quoted he appears to have proved his contention.

Now, Mr. Leakey, Professor Mollison, and Professor Reck are all agreed that this skeleton, be it contemporaneous with the deposits or not, is of the same type as certain skeletons found by Mr. Leakey in Kenya Colony. This raises a very important point, namely, as to how far human remains are of use for purposes of correlation, and whether, if they have that value, they are sufficient of themselves to allow of the correlation of two deposits which cannot otherwise be regarded as of approximately the same age.

If it be assumed that the Oldoway skeleton is contemporaneous with the fauna, and that the skeletons from Kenya are equally contemporaneous with their associated fauna, then we are immediately faced with the difficulty that the Oldoway fauna is of a much older type than the Kenya fauna, and that, considering the non-human remains alone, the Oldoway deposits are older than those of Kenya. This I believe to be true.

On the other hand, Professor Reck and Mr. Leakey, basing themselves on the human remains, equate Oldoway and Kenya. This is to disregard the associated mammals and

to rely on an organism which has every disadvantage for use as a guide fossil. Fossil men are extremely rare—they are domesticated animals—and, lastly, they are reasoning and intelligent. All these things prevent Man being a true index of natural conditions at any one time, and to base a correlation of two sets of deposits on the contained human remains is, to my mind, an unwise proceeding.

I think there are deposits in Kenya which are possibly equivalent to the Oldoway beds, but, up to the present, they have proved unfossiliferous. All the fossils I have seen come from the Upper Gamblian, which is a wet phase containing modern otters and hippopotami. None of the species indicates the more ancient type of fauna found at Oldoway. For the moment, therefore, I am unable to agree with the general proposition that the Gamblian is equivalent to the Oldoway deposits. I understand from Mr. Leakey, however, that he hopes to investigate the Lower Gamblian (the "Gamblian I" of his reports) in the near future, and that in it he hopes to find a fauna of the Oldoway type. From unpublished data which he has very kindly placed at my disposal, I have every expectation that this correlation will prove to be correct, provided, of course, that he can find the necessary fossils.

A. TINDELL HOPWOOD.

British Museum (Nat. Hist.),
14 Jan., 1931.

Egypt: Prehistoric. Arkell. Prehistoric Flints from Egypt. 57

SIR,—A review by Miss G. Caton-Thompson in MAN, 1930, 116, of a book by Dr. K. S. Sandford and myself has just come to my notice and in it appears the following passage: "The related cores, as illustrated Fig. 22, if figured correctly, are unique in the 'annals of prehistory, for in three out of four 'cases the ventral flake scar shows two negative 'bulbs, one at each end, with no corresponding 'flake ridges. This is sheer impossibility."

As the author of the drawings, may I be allowed space for a brief explanation? In claiming that if the cores are figured correctly they involve a "sheer impossibility," or in other words that the figures cannot possibly be correct, Miss Caton-Thompson has overlooked our statement, twice repeated (pp. 57 and 63), that all the implements in the 92-ft. beach are waterworn. These cores are, in fact, all smoothed and rounded to a varying extent and, although we collected some seven dozen, it was difficult to select examples showing the typical features and at the same time sufficiently fresh for figuring. In nearly all the cores, including three of those figured, the ridge separating the two opposed main flake-scars, from the beginning inconspicuous owing to the flat flakes having been struck off in the same plane, has been completely obliterated by attrition in the beach shingle. It would have been easy to "restore" convincingly the missing ridges, but such a course would not faithfully have represented one of the chief features of these cores, the virtual continuity, made absolute by wear, of the two main flake-scars.

With Miss Caton-Thompson's valued comments on other matters I will not deal here. We shall have more to say on the all-important topic of climatic changes, in both higher and lower reaches of the Nile, in two volumes now in preparation. It is apparent that subjects of such wide application as climatic changes cannot profitably be discussed further within the bounds of a region so circumscribed as the Faiyum. W. J. ARKELL.

14, Chadlington Road, Oxford.

Kharga: Prehistoric. Caton-Thompson.

[The following message has been received from the Institute's Prehistoric Research Expedition in Kharga Oasis, dated 20 Jan. 1931.] 58

We had an interesting trek across from Bahiana in the Nile Valley, going slowly enough to examine things fairly thoroughly. We traced Badarian-Fayum flints right across, from practically the Nile Valley Scarp, here. As you approach this scarp they congregate in big "sites"—fewer on the floor of the oasis. I have not succeeded in finding their mounds or graves yet, but most of our time has been spent on a necessary preliminary general survey of the northern part of the oasis—north of Kharga Village to the W., E., and N. boundary scarps. We have found huge flint mines on top of the eastern scarp in one place—whose, is not easy to answer, though minors' shelters or wind-breaks have yielded enough pottery to date them, when I can get at comparative material: not prehistoric anyway.

Now we are busy investigating an "Aterien" culture *in situ*, and its relation to wolls and springs. It is nice getting that industry here.

It is a grim place for working: we have been grilled by scorching heat, sand-blasted and frozen in turn—and have had a pretty rough time, walking all day and sleeping at night where we happened to find ourselves. I have three Kufits with me, and four Bedouins (Awazim tribe) who have raised seven camels.

We are now, for the first time in a settled camp, about five miles east of Kharga: this on account of the big "Aterien" site, which is needing local labour to help clear it. When we have got our Tale completed, we shall be moving south to the Gennah region. Mr. Little of the Geological Survey is down here, and has been trying to help us solve a very intriguing geological and archaeological problem: the "Aterien" is being a useful fossil for deposits.

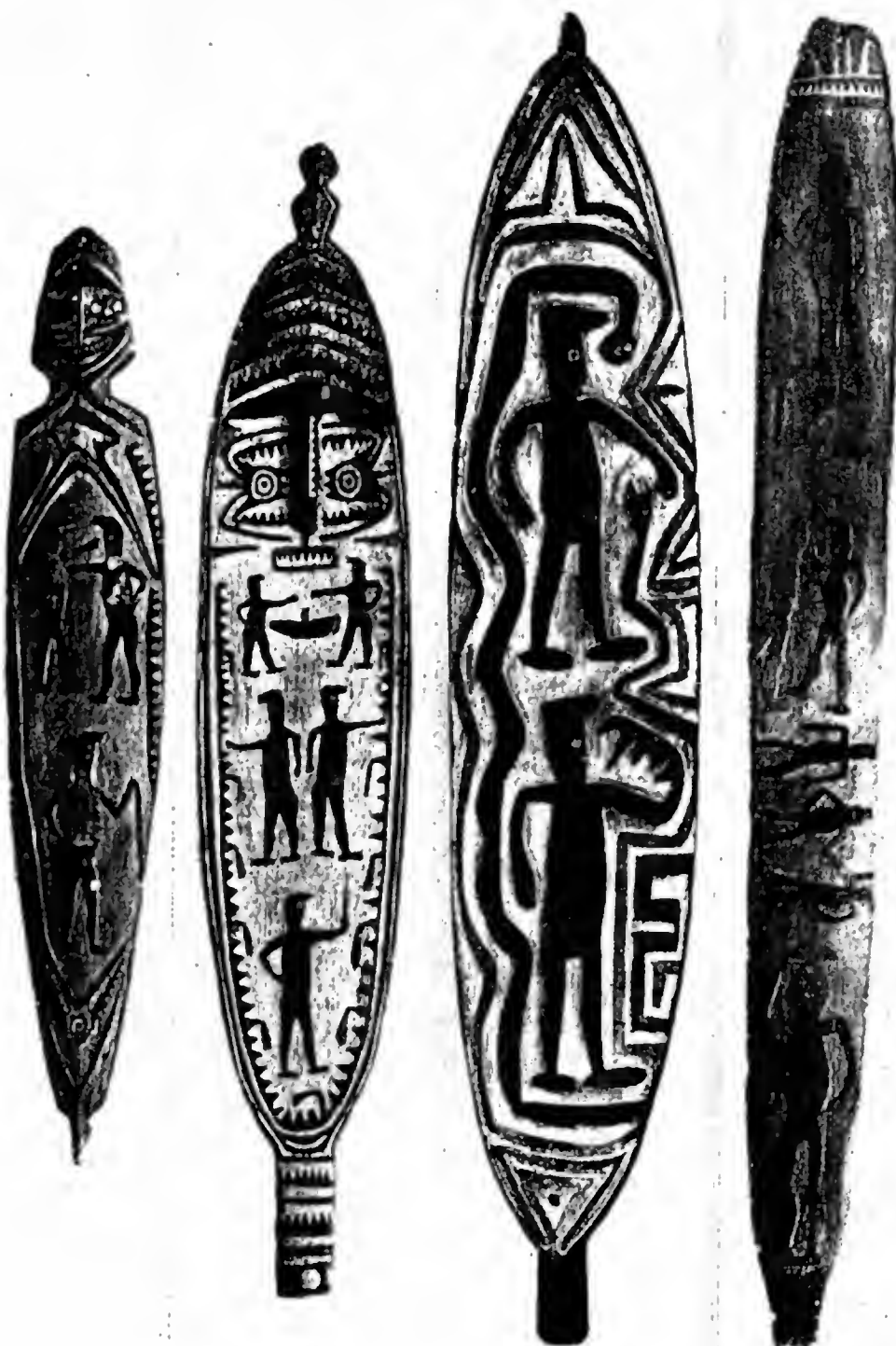
G. CATON-THOMPSON.

Couvade.

Head.

SIR,—I have enquired about "Couvade" in this district (Pulborough, Sussex), 5 miles from Petworth. It is quite common. Men suffer from "teeth-ache" and "back-ache." The reasons are clear:—(i) The man does not cohabit with his wife; (ii) He is irritated and has to resist temptation; (iii) Drinks too much and is uncomfortable at home. 59

ALBAN HEAD.



CARVED GOPI BOARDS FROM THE PAPUAN GULF AREA.

By permission of the Trustees of the Australian Museum, Sydney.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 60-90.

APRIL, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Papua.

With Plate D.

Thorpe.

Carved Gopi Boards from the Papuan Gulf Area. By W. W. Thorpe, *Ethnologist, Australian Museum, Sydney, with the permission of the Trustees.*

60

These tablets, usually associated with the men's clubhouse (*ravi* or *cravo*), are well known in most museums, but the dominating design on the four now described is unusual, if not unique.

The series of human figures is new to the writer, who has probably handled more of these objects than usually falls to the lot of a museum worker. With the exception of No. 4 (and that is partially so) all the figures are in profile. Two of the tablets have, at the upper ends, the usual renderings of the human face, No. 2 having a carinate and perforate nose, while No. 1 has the physiognomy expressed on the flat. In no instance are sex-characters indicated, but the stature is undoubtedly male. As to the facial features of the standing figures—the nose is not indicated, unless we consider as such the upper half of the oral cavity. The head-dress, if such it be, is probably of a ceremonial nature, but, on the other hand, this might have been the conventional way of portraying the Papuan coiffure.

The lack of data concerning their origin is disappointing. There is not the slightest doubt that they are from Western Papua, but the most precise locality obtainable (supplied with No. 3) is "where the Rev. J. H. Holmes was a missionary." According to available records, Holmes' sphere of activity was in the region of Orokolo Bay, and probably eastward to Port Chalmers. Nos. 1 and 4 are very old pieces, and were discovered with No. 2 during stocktaking operations incidental to a change in ownership of a long-established "curio merchant" in Sydney. No. 4 is quite modern and a recent acquisition, but with it came the reference to Holmes, already mentioned. Detailed descriptions follow:—

No. 1. Three figures within a toothed enclosure or "cartouche," two above, and one below. The two upper figures each have one arm *akimbo*, the other reaching out, or in the act of striking. The lower figure has the right arm at the hip, and holds a staff or implement in the left hand. Colour is practically absent, the darkened portions being due to the charring usual with these *gopi* boards. Patches of grey mud remain on the bodies of the figures, but this is probably fortuitous. Length, 4 feet; max. breadth, 8 inches.

No. 2. The recessed portion or background is a dull white. Traces of yellow pigment remain on the bodies of the five figures, while the features and loins have been smeared with magenta. The toothed margin in this example points inwards, and switch-like "festoons" are intercalated at intervals. Length, 4 feet 10½ inches; max. breadth, 11½ inches.

No. 3. This example is modern, and debasement is shown in several ways. The lower figure is holding a poorly carved animal in the left hand. Both figures

are enclosed within the limits of two undulating serpents. Colour is the same as No. 2, except that the head-dresses of both figures are magenta. Length, 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; max. breadth, 8 inches.

No. 4. Eight figures, one juvenile. The knees of the upper and lower large figure project. The lower large figure wears a different head-dress, and is full-face except for the lower limbs. Three figures are portrayed transversely, each in a different attitude. This specimen has no marginal decoration. Length, 5 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; max. breadth, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. W. W. THORPE.

Papua.

Haddon: Braunholtz.

Notes on Carved Gopi Boards from the Papuan Gulf Area.

[MAN, 1930, 60.] (a) By Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S. (b) By H. J. Braunholtz, M.A., British Museum.

61

Ceremonial tablets (*gopi*) from the men's clubhouses (*ravi* or *eravo*) have a general similarity in the character of their designs, though much diversity in detail. These four specimens are entirely different from any known *gopi*, as they portray two or more full length figures of men. The attitudes are unlike any yet recorded from New Guinea. The straight face and not-prominent nose are remarkable; the projection on the head may be a conventional method of representing hair, or may be intended for an unknown kind of head-dress; but that of the lower man in No. 4 may be a European hat.

I view these *gopi* with very grave suspicion, and doubt whether any of them are really old. Magenta is not a native colour. A. C. HADDON.

In the absence of any exact documentation, I feel that these *gopi* objects are of doubtful value as a contribution to science. The human figures are quite unlike any others I know from New Guinea, in style: and as the "Gulf" art is, in general, so highly stylized, I suspect that these tablets are not earlier than mid-nineteenth century, and that the figures show European influence; perhaps crude attempts at imitating European drawings. I do not know of a native head-dress with that curious projection; it suggests, if anything, a sailor's peaked cap to me. The pugilistic attitudes are also suggestive of foreign influences.

However, even if not aboriginal in inspiration, they have a certain interest as illustrations of culture contact, and its effect on aboriginal art.

The bottom figure in No. 4 seems to be wearing a hat rather than a feather head-dress. The lower figure on No. 1 seems to have a walking stick. However, in the absence of definite data, all such interpretations are hypothetical and of doubtful value. If we knew that they were pre-European, their interest would be considerable.

Of course, it is unwise to judge the age of specimens from photos; but I cannot see any indication of a greater age than, say, fifty years. Much depends on how they were treated when in use, and how preserved afterwards. The wood used for these tablets is generally soft, and would wear badly. In any case, "very old" is too vague a description to be helpful. H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

National Provision for the Study of Indian and other Oriental Cultures. Memorandum by Professor John L. Myres, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute to the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching; with the Resolutions of the Joint Committee: 17th March, 1931.

62

The recent Round Table Conference on Indian affairs, the Loan Exhibition of Persian Art, and the recent recommendation of an Oriental Museum by the Royal

Commission on National Museums and Galleries have contributed in different ways to bring to expression widespread and deep interest in Oriental art and craftsmanship and the significance of these expressions of Oriental thought and life.

The National Collections illustrating Oriental art and skill are very rich, as might be expected from our country's long connections, commercial and political, with all parts of the East. But they are scattered, disorganised, ill-displayed, insufficiently served and explained. Yet public interest in them is real and widespread, and there is little doubt that if they were better exhibited, other valuable collections would before long become available to supplement them.

Naturally Indian collections were among the earliest, and have come to be of great importance. The India Museum formed under the East India Company, expressed the sound belief of those days that Indian culture and especially Indian arts and crafts had significance for the West, both for their own sakes, and to aid Western comprehension of Indian thought, needs, and mode of life. This collection passed first to the India Office, and thence in 1879 to premises leased from the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition, where it is maintained as a section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Important material from it was transferred long ago to the British Museum, which, like the Victoria and Albert Museum, has valuable Indian and other Oriental collections of its own. But none of these collections include, nor indeed appear willing to accept, archaeological or anthropological contributions from the Far East: important materials of this kind brought home by private excavators and collectors have even been dispersed or are precariously housed elsewhere till opinions and institutions expand. The British Museum's *Handbook to Ethnology* refers the student of Indian cultures to the Victoria and Albert Museum. But the India Museum there is restricted to artistic and industrial exhibits. Thus fundamental aspects of Indian life are at present practically ignored; and other Oriental cultures are in no better plight in this country.

The Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries reported in 1929 that the materials for an Oriental Museum are extremely rich. Failing the establishment of such a Museum, "the Commission is inclined to the view that the most efficient arrangement would be the development of a Department of Far Eastern "Antiquities at the British Museum," in place of the conventional grouping of this material under "Ceramics and Ethnography." A separate Museum of Oriental Antiquities would not only be costly, but involve a "drastic displacement of "collections" now dispersed as already described. It must be remembered, however, that the most important of these, the India Museum, occupies its present premises under a lease which expires in 1938. The question of its future establishment is therefore urgent.

The alternative project of a "Central Museum of Asiatic Art" in London was recently recommended to the India Society and in letters to the *Times* (29th January, 2nd and 3rd February). Such a museum would be "not only of national importance; "it would be of great value to the whole British Empire and indeed to the World"; India would "welcome it and give it enthusiastic support." This project, however, seemed to approach the question exclusively from the æsthetic side: "the art not "only of India, but of all Asiatic countries, was the best, *in fact the only* key to "a complete understanding of the peoples of Asia."

But all these Indian collections are of twofold interest, artistic and technological. In some sections, especially paintings and sculptures, æsthetic interest is dominant; in others—pottery, metalwork, and woodwork—beauty counts for less, and skill for more. But in both, full appreciation presumes historical perspective, and comparison with archaeological material such as is becoming available in several parts of India. It also presumes provision, which has been attempted rarely hitherto, for

formal interpretation, advanced studies, and research among these classes of material.

Hence the project of an endowed chair of "Indian cultural studies" published in the *Times* of 17th January, 1931. But though a step in the right direction, this does not advance matters far. No single chair could be properly charged with so wide and varied a range of subjects. A chair or chairs "in some British university" would not necessarily stand in the desired relation to the National Collections, though its teaching could not but demonstrate in practice how inconvenient their present separation and derangement are. There is also the same risk, as has befallen the collections themselves, that either æsthetic or historical interest, or both, should ignore archæological and ethnographical aspects and new sources of information the significance of which is not yet generally appreciated.

Now the project for an Oriental Museum is in no way incompatible with provision for historical studies or archæological collections. Indeed, any Oriental Museum which included Indian art must necessarily include Indian antiquities, and would be the natural and obvious base for the scientific study of all and every phase of Indian archæology. All collections, illustrating any phase of Oriental technology and material culture in general, including the outward and visible signs of religious beliefs and practices, fall within the scope of an Oriental Museum; the compatibility of the æsthetic and industrial with the scientific and historical objectives was carefully examined by the Royal Commission, in view of the partial overlap of the National Collections as at present arranged. In the reassembling of those collections if allotted to an Oriental or Asiatic Museum, both the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum would presumably hand over part of their materials: how much, from each institution, would presumably depend on the location of the new Museum. The best solution would be (as suggested to the Royal Commission) to establish it close to the British Museum; where moreover it would be best placed in respect of library facilities and especially for documentary study.

For it must be remembered that the great Oriental cultures are not illiterate. While their art and material remains illustrate their thought and social structure, their literatures interpret their arts. Manuscripts, drawings and prints are common ground between library and museum. At the other extreme, the daily routine and village industries, out of which the higher cultures and their arts have sprung, are themselves the subject of comparison with the material of the ethnological and archæological departments.

Indeed, under modern conditions of research and advanced study and teaching, what is required is rather an Institute than a repository for collections only. The Museum of arts, crafts and antiquity, the library with its literary and linguistic archives, need to be incorporated with the necessary equipment for higher study and research, in a single Oriental Institute. And seeing that these studies have long-established and well-supported centres in other University cities, as well as in London, such a national institute should be so organised as to be linked federally with all existing establishments, by the structure of its directorate and the composition of its staff. Here the practice of great continental centres of learning offers instructive precedents; and the Indian Institute in Oxford, as projected by Monier-Williams fifty years ago a small scale anticipation of that combination of Library, Museum, and provision for advanced teaching and study, which is suggested here.

From this point of view, the project, already discussed, for a chair of "Indian cultural studies," which if it were created in isolation might risk being regarded as adequate substitute for what is needed, would, if contemplated from the first as an instalment of some such design, be of great preparatory value as a link between existing collections and institutes for research.

JOHN L. MYRES.

After considering this memorandum, and other expressions of opinion, the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching resolved unanimously on 17th March as follows:—

The Joint Committee welcomes the growing interest in the study of Indian and other Oriental cultures as expressions of the thought and life of Eastern peoples; and is of opinion that

(1) These studies will be best served and guided by the establishment of a central Oriental Institute.

(2) Such an Institute should include in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, ample provision for the study and exhibition of the national collections of Oriental Art and Antiquity, from the scientific and technological as well as the æsthetic point of view;

(3) It should be provided with endowments for research and advanced teaching in all branches of Oriental studies.

(4) Its constitution should be on such federal basis as to permit the closest co-operation with existing institutions devoted to these studies.

At the same meeting a strong committee including representatives of Universities, Institutions and Societies engaged in Oriental Studies was appointed to examine the prospects of such a central Oriental Institute, and to explore further the means whereby the study of Oriental cultures may be most effectively promoted. J.L.M.

International Congresses, Anthropological or Prehistoric? A further Report of Negotiations. By John L. Myres, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

63

In MAN, 1931, 20, I summarized the course of negotiations, down to the end of December, 1930, for the release of the old *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques* from its recent association with the *Institut international d'anthropologie* domiciled in Paris. I have now to report further developments, which raise questions of broad principle, and general interest to anthropologists and ethnologists, as well as to students of prehistoric archæology.

I.

In reply to a circular inviting expressions of opinion on the situation as described in MAN, 1931, 20, I have received more than sixty letters from eminent colleagues in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Italy and Sicily, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, and in Malta, Cairo, New York and Washington. All *without exception* are in favour of complete separation of the *Congrès* from the *Institut*, and the resumption of the *Congrès* in accordance with its old statutes. The Archæological Institute of Bulgaria, on 27 February, resolved that the *Congrès* "devait rester indépendant et itinérant, en se réorganisant administrativement selon ses anciens statuts"; and no doubt other public bodies are considering the question in the same corporate way; for several of my correspondents write that they have consulted colleagues more or less formally before replying to my letter. Several distinguished members of the *Conseil* of the *Institut* itself, while insisting on their loyalty and devotion to the *Institut*, nevertheless desire that the *Congrès* should revert to its constitution "autonome, itinérant, sans siège sociale," on the ground of the practical difficulties of organization which were revealed by the recent congress in Portugal.

It is with particular satisfaction that I record the opinions of French savants, because these show that no question of national prestige or priority is involved, but simply and solely the general convenience and efficiency of these international

meetings. Several letters from other countries testify to the scientific work of the French *Institut*.

I had already suggested in MAN 1931, 20, that "if the managers of the *Institut* were prepared . . . to cancel voluntarily the agreement of October, 1928, it would be possible, without loss of time, to accept an invitation for the next *Congrès*, and begin to organize it." On 27 January I submitted this suggestion, by letter, to M. Marin, the President of the *Institut*; and on 27 February, when I visited him in Paris, we agreed that our "little committee," regarding itself as a quite neutral body, should make this proposal formally to the *Conseil* of his *Institut*. We shall also, of course, make the same proposal to the surviving members of the "permanent committee" of the *Congrès* of 1912. If this is accepted on both sides in the same friendly spirit as has been evident at all points in these negotiations, there is good hope that it may be accepted as a *fait accompli* by the adjourned session of the *XV Congrès*; the date of which, by the way, has not yet been announced.

II.

Meanwhile, in MAN, 1931, 20, I was only able to hint vaguely that I had "grave reason to believe that events elsewhere may have profoundly changed the prospects" before long. It is now common knowledge that a meeting of teachers and other professional experts in prehistoric archæology has been convened at Bern in the month of May, by personal invitations signed by Professor Bosch-Gimpera, of Barcelona, to discuss the future organization of prehistoric studies. After correspondence with some of those most actively concerned, and recent personal interviews of the most intimate and friendly kind, I hope I can submit a fair statement of alternative policies which are likely to be discussed at the Bern meeting. In the forthcoming number of *L'Anthropologie* the same question is discussed more fully, and I understand that Professor Bosch-Gimpera will issue a further statement of his own.

The principal divergence of view is in regard to the relations between prehistoric studies and other departments of Science which deal with man and his works. Obviously there are two possible systems of classification.

A. From one point of view, prehistoric studies are simply those parts of physical anthropology, ethnology, technology, folklore and other special disciplines concerned with particular attributes or activities of mankind, which deal with material of prehistoric date, and consequently have no assistance from historical (and especially from documentary) sources, but are restricted to those objective methods of research (collection of specimens, description of monuments, excavation of settlement-sites and tombs), which are common to the natural sciences, such as zoology, geology and physical geography.

From this point of view, there is no philosophical reason for separating the prehistoric part of each of these systematic studies from the remainder; nor any reason except the inconvenience of excessive numbers, why one and the same Congress should not serve the common purpose of enabling anthropologists, ethnologists, technologists and so forth, to meet each other, whether they are specially concerned with the prehistoric part of their respective subjects or not.

This conception was quite widely held, in former times, for example when Virchow founded in Berlin the famous *Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*; or in the days of the original *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique* (in the singular, "sans s"). And at the recent *XV Congrès* in Portugal the French *Institut international d'anthropologie* provided sections for physical anthropology, ethnography, and other human sciences, as well as for prehistoric studies.

B. From another point of view, which appears to be very widely held in many parts of continental Europe, the specialization of all departments of the human sciences has made it preferable to regard "Prehistory" as a separate and self-centred study, concerned with all aspects of humanity down to the point at which historical studies may be said to begin: this point, of course, differs in each geographical region, according to the course of historical events. In the Near East, history begins very early, and from the point where history begins, Prehistory ceases and is replaced by Oriental Archæology; in the Mediterranean, similarly, Classical Archæology emerges when Greek and Roman history begins. In some parts of Eastern Europe, Prehistory continues until the XII-XIIIth centuries A.D.; in Britain, on the other hand, the prehistoric period is commonly regarded as ended when Roman Britain begins, and even the "later iron-age" relics of illiterate Saxons are regarded rather belonging to "mediæval" than to "prehistoric" archæology.

To this self-centred "Prehistory" other sciences or "disciplines" such as general ethnology only belong in so far as they contribute directly to the solution of "prehistoric" problems; they are related, indeed, to "Prehistory" in exactly the same way as palæo-botany, palæo-zoology, quaternary geology or the history of climate or land-forms. Consequently an International Congress in this group of studies should be (as indeed the more recent pre-war Congresses actually were) a *Congrès d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques* (in the plural, "avec s") and should only be subdivided into such sections, and admit such communications, as contribute directly to some problem of "prehistory."

The whole question is of practical (and even immediate importance) because within the last twenty years there has been a widespread and rapid growth of interest and activity in all prehistoric studies; whereas in England, and to some extent in France, there are special reasons for encouraging ethnographical study, in view of its practical utility as an aid to the administration of dependencies, and of the special facilities which these dependencies offer for the study of non-European peoples and cultures. Here, too, prehistoric studies have prospered, but they have not been incorporated in the system of University studies, and on the other hand mutual assistance between prehistoric archæologists, physical anthropologists and general ethnologists has become more intimate than before.

It seems that this project for a meeting at Bern originated among members of the International Congress of Archæology at Barcelona in 1929. At that moment the old *Congrès* appeared to have been absorbed into the Paris *Institut*, and the suggestion was discussed that the prehistoric section of the Congress of Archæology might be enlarged to meet future needs, in time for the next session of that Congress. This project however appears to have found less support than the desire for a quite fresh organization. There may therefore be at Bern two principal subjects for discussion :—

(1) Should international organization include all the human sciences, anthropology, ethnology, technology, as well as prehistoric archæology, in a single Congress, as described already under (A); or would it be better, for the present, to organize a Congress limited to prehistoric studies, in the sense (B) above?

(2) In either event, is it better to organize an entirely new Congress on fresh principles, or to adopt the statutes and organization of the pre-war *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques* ("avec s"), if it can be arranged (by friendly agreement with the survivors of the old *Congrès* and with the *Institut*) for it to resume its sessions as an independent and itinerant institution?

The meeting at Bern in May is summoned, as already explained, by personal invitations from Professor Bosch-Gimpera, who was one of the organizers of the International Archæological Congress at Barcelona in 1929. But in order to ensure

that all points of view may be represented, he has agreed that invitations shall be sent to all those to whom I sent my circular in January; and I take this opportunity to urge all those who are so invited, to attend the meeting at Bern, if possible, and express their opinions quite frankly. For it is only by free and public interchange of views that international agreement can be reached, or progress made towards the co-operation which every one appears to desire.

III.

There remains the question of the prospect of an invitation for the *XVI Congrès*; and on this I can only announce that preliminary enquiries are being made. The pre-war congresses were at Geneva (1912), Monaco (1906), Paris (1900), Moscow (1892), Paris (1889), Lisbon (1880), Buda Pesth (1876), Stockholm (1874), Brussels (1872), Bologna (1871), Copenhagen (1869), Norwich and London (1868), Paris (1867), Neuchatel (1866), Spezzia (1865). The projected Congress, prevented by the War, was to have been in Madrid in 1916. The quadrennial sessions of the French *Institut*, since the War, have been held at Liège (1921), Prague (1924), Amsterdam (1927) and in Portugal (1930). The next is announced for Paris in 1931 concurrently with the adjourned session of the *XV Congrès* from Portugal. It will be seen, from this, that several countries, distinguished by their scientific work both in anthropology and in prehistoric archaeology, have never yet received a Congress.

It may happen that the scope and composition of the next Congress contribute to determine its next place of meeting. Under the actual statutes, however, all serious change requires due notice, and cannot be ratified until the next subsequent Congress; and it would no doubt be the best way out of all present difficulties, if the next Congress were organized primarily for the discussion of a few general questions, with a sufficient allowance of free time for the consideration of proposals emerging from these proceedings themselves.

IV.

After considering the preceding report, the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching, on which are represented all British Universities, institutions, and societies engaged in anthropological, ethnological and archaeological studies, resolved unanimously, on 17th March, that:—

The Joint Committee, while recognizing the services rendered to anthropology in general by the sessions of the *Institut international d'anthropologie*, and the good will expressed in its agreement with the Permanent Committee of the *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*, expresses nevertheless in the most cordial spirit the hope that, in view of unforeseen difficulties, the Congress may resume its work in accordance with its own statutes as an independent and itinerant body.

The Joint Committee expresses the hope that, in view of the close relations between all the aspects of prehistoric archaeology and the more general studies of anthropology and ethnology which illustrate them, any future Congress for prehistoric studies may admit discussion of questions in general anthropology and ethnology: and requests those of its members who have been invited to the forthcoming meeting of prehistoric archaeologists at Bern to convey, in the most cordial spirit, this expression of opinion to that meeting.

It is clearly recognized that under its present title ("avec s") the scope of the old *Congrès* is limited, and that only the *Congrès* itself, when it resumes independent activity, is competent to relax or still further to restrict this limitation. And in a recent letter Dr. Bosch-Gimpera expresses his hope that it may be possible at the meeting in Bern to discuss all aspects of the question of principle, and prepare the way for inclusive and effective co-operation in future. JOHN L. MYRES.

America, North.

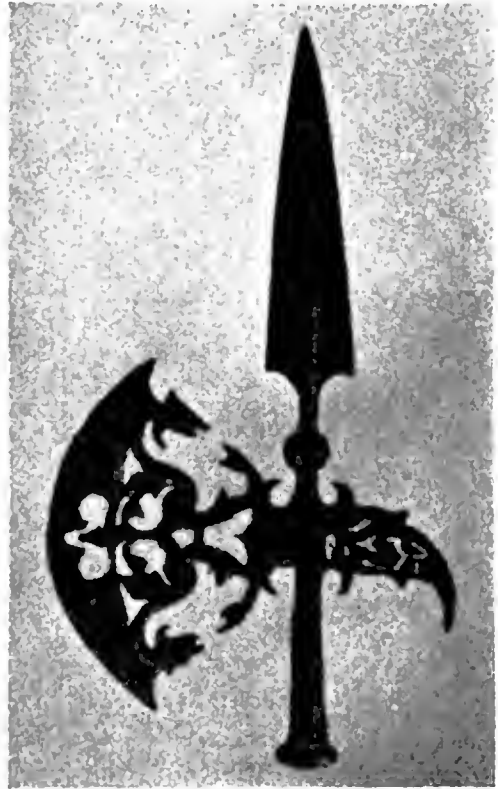
Clements.

Note on an Ornament of possible Spanish-Moorish Design found in Arizona. By Forrest Clements, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University. (With figure.)

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During the course of recent ethnological work in the southwestern United States, I encountered the metal ornament illustrated in the accompanying photograph. The object was in the possession of its discoverer, a beaver-trapper living near Topock, Arizona, and was found by him while excavating a sand hill on the banks of the Colorado river a few miles from Topock. This dune was of closely packed, sandy earth, and bore on its surface a growth of desert shrubs, together with several large mesquite trees, indicating that it had been in existence for a considerable time. The ornament was found about eight feet below the surface, and when removed left a sharp imprint in the earth in which it was embedded. It was thickly corroded with green oxide, this oxide being so heavy that it completely filled the interstices in the ornamental hilt. The earth in immediate contact with it also bore a greenish stain. As the climate of this region is exceptionally arid, it is probable that the oxide would have formed slowly.

The object is in the shape of an ornamental dagger and, when cleaned, weighed five and one-half ounces. The length is eight inches over-all and the blade itself measures four and one-half inches in length by one inch in width at its widest point. The handle proper is only two inches long. The crescent on the left side of the ornamental hilt is four inches from tip to tip, and the total width of the open-work is four and one-half inches. A longitudinal ridge runs down the middle of the blade, which has bevelled edges. The instrument is flat on one side, as though it had been attached to some smooth surface, and this fact, together with the dullness of the blade and the small size of the handle, indicates its use merely as an ornament, perhaps on the lid of a chest. The metal is easily scratched and appears to be either copper or low grade bronze.



BRONZE ORNAMENT FROM ARIZONA.

All the circumstances of the find point to its having been in the site at which it was discovered for a rather lengthy period, while the design appears to be of Spanish-Moorish origin. As this region along the Colorado river was visited by a number of Spanish exploration parties in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it may be that the ornament is a relic of such an expedition.

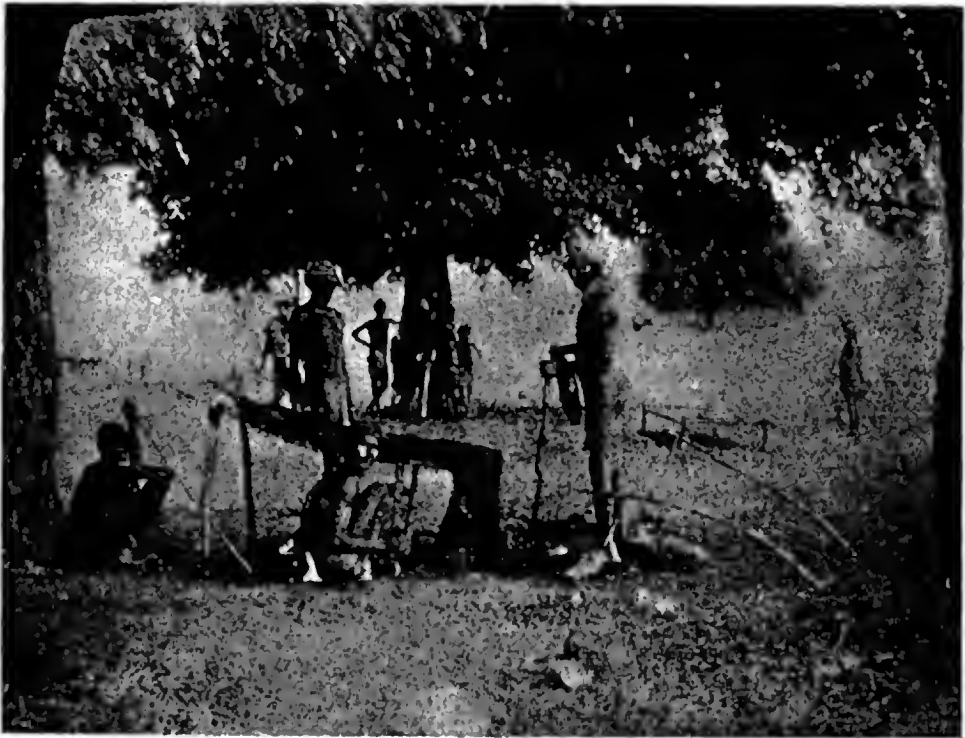
FORREST CLEMENTS.

India: Iron.

Cammiade.

Iron Smelting by Kois, a Jungle Tribe in the Eastern Ghats of India. *By L. A. Cammiade.* **65**

The Kois are a jungle tribe inhabiting the Eastern Ghats between the Nizam's Territory and British India. It may be presumed that their knowledge of iron smelting was borrowed from the more civilized peoples of the Deccan and of the sea-board. But, judging by the peculiar construction of the bellows used and the primitiveness of the apparatus as a whole, it is an archaic method of smelting iron that the Kois have borrowed and retained. It is from this point of view that their method has interest.



IRON SMELTING BY KOIS, A JUNGLE TRIBE IN THE EASTERN GHATS.

As can be seen, the apparatus is uncommonly small in size, barely 30 inches in height. It consists of a vertical flue to which a sloping stage is attached and two small bellows.

The flue is built of clay. Its inner diameter is of only 4 or 5 inches. It has two vents at the base at right angles to each other, one for blowing in air and the other for letting out slag.

The stage attached to the flue is of wicker lined with clay. It is used for holding a mixture of the ore to be smelted and of charcoal. The flue is fed from this mixture until the quantity laid on it at the commencement of the operation is exhausted. It is therefore a kind of measure to determine the quantity of ore that can be dealt with at one smelting. The stage is permanently attached to the flue, and is supported by sticks driven into the ground.

The bellows seem to have no connection with the bellows used by smiths, European or Indian. The foundation of each of the bellows is a circular block

of wood about 10 to 12 inches in diameter. The upper surface of the block is scooped to form a shallow saucer, and a hole is bored laterally for allowing air to escape. Over the saucer a piece of leather is lightly stretched so as to allow the leather to touch the bottom of the saucer. The leather cover is perforated in the centre. A button fits under the hole in the leather and this button is tied to a spring formed by a twig planted about two feet away and bent towards the bellows. The result of tying the button to the bent twig is to pull up the leather cover so that instead of touching the bottom of the saucer, as it naturally would, it is held up over the saucer like a tent.

The bellows are worked by a man standing on the rim of the two saucers with his heels towards the centre. The man supports himself by a bamboo and works his heels rapidly up and down. Each time the heels come down air is expelled from the saucers and as the heels go up the saucers refill. The heels are worked alternately and rapidly.

The nozzle of the bellows consists of a piece of female bamboo about an inch in diameter and about a foot in length. The piece selected must be closed by a knot or septum at one end, and the septum is pierced by a fine hole. The result of using a nozzle of this kind is that the hollow part of the bamboo acts as a regulator and the air issues from the nozzle in a continuous stream and with considerable force. The pierced end of the nozzle is placed loosely in a small earthenware cone which is inserted in the blowing vent at the base of the flue. The space between the cone and the vent is packed with earth, but the nozzles remain loose in the cone, presumably to improve the indraught.

The ore used for smelting was of pale ochre colour, light in weight and friable. It was obtained locally. The ore was broken into fragments less than an inch cube and was mixed with charcoal. The mixture was then spread evenly on the stage. The vent for the air was next filled as already described, and the vent for the slag was plugged with damp earth. The flue was filled and lighted at the base, and the bellows were started. As the mixture in the flue was burnt down, fresh mixture was pushed into the flue from the stage. When the colour of the flame showed that the ore had been smelted, the vent for the slag was opened and the slag was taken out. Then the other vent was opened and the molten metal was taken out, and as soon as it began to solidify it was placed on a stone anvil and vigorously hammered. The time occupied in smelting was about an hour. About five pounds of iron was obtained.

The position held by the smiths in the Koi social system seems to confirm, what otherwise might have been guessed, that the Kois derived their knowledge of iron smelting from the lowlanders. Though the Kois are divided into a number of clans, there is no bar to intermarriage except with the smiths. The only reason I can suggest for the exceptional position assigned to the smiths is that they were foreigners, lowlanders imported or kidnapped into the hills. But any importation of the kind suggested must have taken place very long ago, because the smiths are at present hardly distinguishable from the other Kois and have no connection with the lowland smiths or with any lowlanders, and they do not even seem to have any tradition as to whence they came or why they cannot intermarry with other Kois. In this connection it is worth noting that on the Nilgiri Hills the Tódas and the Bodajas had to employ the Kôtas as smiths and that these Kôtas also have no connection at present with the lowlands and no traditions of their having come from the plains.

The photograph was taken near Kûnavaram, Bhadrachalam Taluk, Godavari District. The Koi smiths are rapidly forgetting how to smelt iron.

L. A. CAMMIADÉ.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

New World Negro.

Herskovits.

The New World Negro as an Anthropological Problem. *Summary* **66**
of a communication presented by Melville J. Herskovits, 3rd February, 1931.

The scientific problem presented by the New World Negro touches upon many questions to which the anthropologist seeks answers. Linguistically, culturally, and from the point of view of physical anthropology, data are offered which, because of the historic control here possible, materially lessen the unknown elements inherent in the consideration of the historic development of non-historic peoples.

The physical types of New World Negroes offer the possibilities of research into problems such as those of race-crossing and thus of the nature of human heredity, and of the effect of environment upon physical type. For the investigation of racial crossing and its results, the field is especially rich, since in the New World the West African Negroes brought as slaves have mixed their blood with English, French, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch, as well as American Indian peoples. Studies made in the United States indicate that the Negroes there are in process of forming a distinct physical type, and this same investigation shows that this type, although greatly mixed, exhibits a lowness of variability that is expected only of homogeneous populations.

Culturally and linguistically as well, the New World Negro mingled his aboriginal heritage with the traditions and speech of his masters. It is believed, on the basis of studies carried on in Dutch Guiana and in the West Indies, that the slaves who fixed the cultural traditions of the New World Negroes came from a much more restricted area than is ordinarily thought to have been the case; that is to say, they came from the Ivory Coast eastward to the Cameroons. It is not believed that enough Congo natives were brought to the New World to impress many of their cultural or linguistic traditions upon the other Negroes whose descendants are found there to-day.

At this stage of the investigation, only a relatively tentative statement of tribal origins of New World Negro cultures is possible. Existing material, however, points to these general classifications of the basic Negro cultures found to-day in the New World: the cultures of Brazil and Cuba are principally Yoruban; of Haiti, Martinique, the French islands of the Caribbean, and Louisiana are derived from the Ewe peoples; of Jamaica, essentially from the Gold Coast; of the Eastern United States, of Trinidad and the Windward and other British islands, from the Gold Coast with some Yoruban. All of these African groups contributed to the culture of the Dutch Guiana Bush-Negroes.

The survivals of African cultural traits that can be established in the New World are more numerous than has ordinarily been thought to be the case. In the Guiana Bush place-names (Dahomé, Pempeh, Beikutu, Lamé, for example) and names of deities (Nyamkompong, Mawu, Asaase, Legba, Ogun, and others) point not only to tribal origins, but definite African localities, while customs such as those surrounding death and burial, the composition of the family and clan, the political structure, all confirm the African character of the culture of these people. With this as a starting-point, and with comparison made with the less isolated coastal Negroes of Guiana, it is possible to discern, in decreasing intensity, the same African cultural traits in the Islands, and also such survivals as are present in the United States.

Thus the New World Negro presents physical and cultural variations which, appertaining to a people whose physical and cultural base-line is known, give us

control data for the prosecution of investigations of the problems of race and culture, and for the study of the interrelation of these.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS.

Pacific.

Hogbin.

Spirits of the Dead at Ongtong-Java. *Summary of a communication presented by H. Ian Hogbin, 10th February, 1931.* **67**

Ongtong-Java is a coral atoll lying to the north-east of the Solomon Islands. The social organization is based on a system of patrilineal joint families.

The natives believe that every individual has a spirit, *kipua*. This spirit is the only part which survives the grave. Once a man is dead his spirit is freed and is thought to be able to punish the survivors with sickness and death if they fail to observe the social rules relating to conduct within the joint family. As soon as a person is taken ill a medium is summoned. He allows the spirits to possess him, and if the person has in fact broken one of these social rules it is almost certain that the spirits will say that they are punishing him.

It has often been said that natives live in constant dread of supernatural forces, and that it is for this reason that they do not break certain social rules. Such statements are untrue, for natives think no more of supernatural vengeance than we do of criminal procedure. Certain individuals may at times be prevented from committing anti-social acts because they fear the spirits, but the majority rarely think of doing so. Nevertheless, the belief in supernatural punishment is important, but chiefly as a factor in education. Children are taught by their parents that certain acts are wrong, and if they commit them that they will be punished by the spirits. As time goes on this teaching imposes habits of good conduct, largely because it is backed up by tales of what has occurred to offenders in the past. The belief is, indeed, so firmly implanted that if a person does break one of the rules he usually expiates his action by dying soon afterwards. H. IAN HOGBIN.

Lesbos.

Lamb.

Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos. *Summary of a communication presented by Miss Winifred Lamb, 24th February, 1931.* **68**

Lesbos was colonized some time before 3000 B.C. by people of Anatolian stock. The site of Thermi shows that these people were already acquainted with the use of copper; that they made both black and red wares; that they established trade with the Cyclades as well as maintaining it with the country of their origin. Their first two towns are contemporary roughly with Troy I; their third town flourished during the period when Troy I was abandoned and Troy II not yet built; their fourth and fifth settlements coincide with IIa, and the expansion of the Troadic culture into Macedonia. They appear to have abandoned the site before Troy IIb, which is associated with the appearance of the *megaron* and the invention of the potter's wheel.

The site is beautifully stratified; the periods being marked off not only by the superposed towns but by the development of the pottery. The sequence thus obtained is particularly useful, since it throws light on problems that at Troy remained obscure, such as the first appearance of certain types of battle axe, of stone and terracotta figurines, and of copper tools and ornaments. WINIFRED LAMB.

Tanganyika.

Culwick.

Rock Paintings in Central Tanganyika. *Summary of a communication presented by A. T. Culwick, 10th March, 1931.* **69**

There are in the Singida District, Tanganyika Territory, several sites where red rock paintings of animals and other objects are to be found. At one site three

styles exist together, being, in chronological order, outline drawings, darkly-outlined figures filled in with pigment and uniformly filled-in figures with no dark outline. At another site the technique of rock-cutting has been employed in addition to the application of pigment.

The figures depicted include giraffe, elephant, leopard, eland, hyena, a tree, etc.

In conjunction with these paintings and at other sites which bore unmistakable signs of human occupation many pieces of granite of peculiar shape were found, the most frequently occurring being lozenge-shaped slabs of various sizes. These objects were only found within the shelters, and their constant recurrence there together with other evidence of human occupation leaves little doubt that they were placed at the various sites by man, but the evidence is insufficient to show whether they are artefacts or merely a collection of natural objects.

A. T. CULWICK.

Egypt.

Hornblower.

Kings and Temples of ancient Egypt. *Summary of a communication presented by G. D. Hornblower, 24th March, 1931.*

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In Egyptian religion the word "temple" represents two different things; (1) the "house of the god" (*per neter*), a shrine like the Latin *aedes* or Greek *naos*; (2) a large building for religious ceremonies containing several shrines, of which the principal one was devoted to the patron-deity of the place. The shrines formed but a little part of the whole; the greater part consisted of chambers in which rites were carried out, mainly for upholding the king's divine power in its many manifestations. The earliest known built temple, that of King Zoser at Saqqâreh, was primarily a sacred place for the king's consecration, or re-consecration, *sed-heb*, at which the national gods assisted, each in his own chapel.

The royal rites were represented on the temple walls to ensure permanence by the same magic means employed by palæolithic man when he painted the walls of his sacred caves with beasts of the chase. A parallel case is that of the tombs on the walls of which offerings for the dead were painted and carved, thereby maintaining for their occupants a permanent supply of the things needed to keep them in good condition and able, accordingly, to protect and assist the living.

The similarity of rites for the dead and for living gods—including the king—shows how large a part in the Egyptian scheme of things was held by the dead: but whereas the well-being of the dead man affected only his family, that of the king affected the whole country, for he was the source of its life and prosperity, a living god, acclaimed as such in every royal inscription. It was therefore important that all rites concerning his kingship, that is to say his godship, such as his divine birth, coronation and re-consecration (*sed-heb*), should be properly carried out and their efficacy rendered permanent by pictures on the temple walls. The figure of the king dominates most parts of the temples; he sprawls enormous on the walls, smiting his foes, and sometimes hunting, for it was an essential duty of kings to protect their people from the enemy, and in the earlier times a chief had everywhere to be a skilful leader in the chase. His statues, at the doorways, tower colossal over the entrant and his name is multiplied endlessly on pillar and wall. Hymns to his glory occupy vast spaces of the outer walls; when he is represented, as he needs must be, making offerings to other gods, he is shown as their equal—sometimes he has a shrine exactly like theirs—but when he is placed beside ordinary mortals, he is a huge giant with his head often in the very skies.

The gods are like him, and like the dead, in that they need constant offerings to maintain their well-being and keep them useful for the community; hence the services devoted to them are also carved on the walls of the shrines but take up little space in comparison with that devoted to kings.

Thus the Egyptian temple may be compared to the Roman *templum*, originally a sanctified space (*tabu*) in which the augurs carried out their observations of the flight of birds, but eventually a sacred enclosure, like the Greek *temenos*, in which buildings were erected for the solemnization of religious rites.

But in Egypt these rites were mainly for the living god, the king. It was therefore necessary for every king to have his own temple, not merely for vain-gloriousness but for his country's benefit. Thus what has seemed to us an act of vandalism, the substitution of his name in the temples of his predecessors for that of the real builders, was really a religious act, enforced by the needs of economy; for it ensured that the temples should stand in the name of the living god, maintaining his living power and consequently the prosperity of the country.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Maudslay Collection of Slides.

The Institute is indebted to the Executors of the late Dr. A. P. Maudslay (President of the Institute, 1911-12) for presenting it with his collection of lantern slides relating to Mexico. This covers a wide ground, but is especially rich in reproductions of ancient maps and plans, and of ancient documents. It has also views of modern buildings and of living types.

A. M. H.

REVIEWS.

Britain: Prehistoric.

Early Man in North-East Yorkshire. By Frank Elgee. Gloucester: John Bellows, 1930. Pp. xvi + 259. xxix plates and 67 figures and maps. Copies may be obtained from the author, Shirley House, Comondale, York. Price, 25s. 9d. post free.

Mr. Elgee has written a very fine book; let him be assured of that. Indeed, it was to be expected that he would do so, for though the work involved has been long and arduous, and though the author has had to struggle against the additional handicap of ill-health, he was already known to us as a shrewd, experienced archaeologist possessed of a lifetime's knowledge of his moors and dales, and a robust Yorkshire love for them; thus the result of his labours could hardly fail to be a volume that is both important and satisfying, and it is no surprise to me to find that I want to commend it with considerable enthusiasm. I think, furthermore, that we should do well to remember that Mr. Elgee began and completed his huge undertaking unsponsored, and without any certainty of eventual publication; let us value it therefore all the more for being a truly admirable expression of private archaeological industry in England.

The author has, of course, an exciting and little-known part of our country to describe and even this has not quite contented him, for I find that he has allotted himself a roving commission, and while he calls the book a study of north-east Yorkshire, actually he is prepared to range

Elgee.

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over the whole eastern half of the county when it suits him better to enlarge the field of enquiry. As for the chronological scope of the survey, Mr. Elgee is interested in everything from the earliest Stone Age to the close of the Viking Period, but I feel that the main content of the book would have been better revealed by calling it "The Bronze Age in North-East Yorkshire," for the chief impression after reading it is that the prehistory of the area is nearly all Bronze Age and we discover that even after the coming of the Anglo-Saxons Mr. Elgee will not let his favourite Urn-People vanish altogether from the picture.

Not that the author fails in his duty of giving us a complete survey in so far as the material permits. We start indeed with pre-palaeolithic man (though I for one want something beside the Eston Nab flint to assure me of his presence in this area); then we have a brief account of the pygmy flints (with a re-assertion of the erroneous belief that these little implements are difficult to make), and next we pass on to neolithic man with his stone axes and long barrows, a section in which we have the first of the really good things of the book, a most satisfactory statement of the relationship between the queer long barrows of Yorkshire and those of south-west England. And so to the Bronze Age. This has three periods, (i) 2000-1500 B.C., (ii) 1500-800 B.C., and (iii) 800-400 B.C., but cutting across the last two we are asked to recognize an Urn Period dated 1400-400 B.C. during which the cinerary urns, "the most abundant type of prehistoric

"pottery" in the district, represent a single and comparatively stable population. The story of these Urn-People forms, as I have said, the greater part of the book, and Mr. Elgee's telling of it is a remarkably interesting performance; we learn that cremation in his area dates back to late neolithic times and was only temporarily interrupted by the arrival of the inhuming Beaker-Folk; it was in fact re-established by the succeeding Food-vessel Men, a native population who absorbed the Beaker People and handed on the time-honoured practice of cremation to their descendants the Urn-People who appear, Yorkshiremen born and bred, at the opening of the Middle Bronze Age. But here comes a new and notable complication, for only the chieftains of these folk were cremated and had their ashes buried under big barrows in cinerary urns with overhanging rims; the rank and file inhumed, and so we have, contemporary with the aristocratic cremation-barrows and associated with them, vast cemeteries of tiny cairns that are thought (but not yet proved) to have covered skeletons. Then to complete this astonishing account of the Urn-People Mr. Elgee shows us their settlements, fields and cattle-folds, and gives good reasons for believing that the great camps, such as Eston Nab, were built by them.

This pertinacious folk survived, as I have hinted, not merely the invasion of the pre-Hallstatt and Hallstatt swordsmen, who drove them up into the moors and high Wolds, but also the coming of the "chariot-eers" in La Tène times; these last forced the Urn-People to take up their abode in inhospitable Blackamore, whence in later days they emerge with renewed vigour as the Brigantes of history; their neighbours then being the Parisii, who were descendants of the "chariot-eers." After all this there follows a short account of the Romanization of the district and of the subsequent arrival of the Anglo-Saxons who left Blackamore as a place of refuge for the Britons, the last and fugitive children of the Urn-Folk stock. "And it is by no means unlikely," says Mr. Elgee, "that Blackamore and the dales would have remained Celtic to this day had it not been for the Scandinavians who finally swamped the Britons."

In this bald summary of a book packed full with interesting detail, I have perforce left much that is important unmentioned; I must not, however, fail to record that one of the most useful sections of this work is a study of the local jet-industry. Here Mr. Elgee's conclusion is that there was no far-flung trade in Whitby jet during the Bronze Age and that the manufacturers of

jet ornaments in this period worked merely to satisfy a voracious home market and not for the purposes of export.

The publishers, as well as the author, are to be congratulated on this handsome book. Perhaps the illustrations are unequal in quality and might have been better managed with regard to economy of space and the suitable representation of pottery and implements; moreover, one or two (e.g., Fig 4) are upside down and others (e.g., Fig. 46) are engravings unsuitable for the paper used; but I have no serious fault to find, and I ought to add that there is a valuable and excellent set of distribution-maps.

T. D. KENDRICK.

India.

Commission.

Report of the Indian Statutory Commission. Vol. I, Survey; Vol. II, Recommendations. H.M. Stationery Office, 1930. Price 6s.

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In the days when the district officer held the balance even between conflicting interests within his charge, the complexity of Indian civilization was not apparent to the casual observer. The Reforms of 1920 have transferred ancient rivalries to the political arena, and the panorama mirrored in the "Simon Report" is instructive to the anthropologist, for in India religion, economics, kinship and social organization are inseparable.

The Commission's survey of the forces at work in each province is concise and clear. With provincial autonomy in view, each minority nation naturally desires a province to itself. Thus the Telugus of Madras, the Oriyas of Bihar and Orissa, the Sindhis of Bombay, demand separation from the provinces to which they now belong. The Sikhs, late lords of the Punjab, the Marathas, once masters of the greater part of India, are outnumbered in the councils of their homeland by the nations over which they ruled. The Pathans of the Frontier Province, to the dismay of the Hindu minority there, want a council of their own choosing. Even Assam is threatened with partition. As for Burma, it is not India and "separation should take place at once." In short, the national antipathies of eighteenth century India are very much alive.

Other cleavages there are, which cut across these national frontiers. On the social side the immemorial supremacy of the Brahman is challenged everywhere, and has been rudely shattered by the non-Brahmans of Madras. The labouring classes of Hindu India chafe under the stigma of "untouchability." The women of India are in revolt against their traditional disabilities. Even pen and sword are symbols of social separation, and the warring races of Gangetic and Peninsular India have little in common with the fighting races concentrated in the Punjab and beyond. And in the background are the great "aboriginal" nations of the hills, and the virile tribesmen of the frontier.

The religious cleavage between Hindu and Muslim is only too familiar, with its ugly record of riot and bloodshed. This, too, has

no analogies in the schisms of Christendom, it lies deep in the social structure, in differences of race and law, of social habit and economic interest.

Economic cleavage, too, is rooted in the social fabric, for occupations are regulated by religion and caste. Towns-folk and country-folk, master and servant, landlord and tenant, farmer and middleman, moneylender and debtor, all belong to different social units.

This picture is a timely corrective of the conventional view of India as an undifferentiated mass of humanity enslaved by a long tradition of centralized bureaucracy, a view reflected by Mr. Layton, the Financial Assessor, who, in his contribution to the Report, suggests that India should be "divided into four or five provinces, each having its own port, its industrial area and its agricultural hinterland." The centralization and the bureaucracy are British innovations which completely reverse the Indian tradition, while the geographical distribution of provinces, so far from being "haphazard," is the outcome of physical and cultural factors that have been in continuous operation for at least 2,000 years. Each province is a complex of nationalities, each nation has its own history and traditions, its characteristic language and culture, its distinctive social system; a living organism made up of innumerable communities, each with its own loyalties of kinship, religion and economic interest, each with its own methods of social self government and each with its place and function in the scheme of society as a whole. No wonder the Commission finds communal sentiment the one stable factor in political life, and seeks, quite undemocratically, to protect minorities from the terrors of majority rule. In its efforts to adapt the political formulae of an 80 per cent. urbanized little island to a 90 per cent. rural sub-continent, the Commission makes it quite plain that "English models" will not fit. The cultural cleavages which the Reforms have made articulate are, no doubt, "deep and dangerous," but they are permanent factors in Indian administration. They have been handled successfully in the past, and they can be in the future. But they cannot be safely ignored.

F. J. R.

Far East.

Grousset.

Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient. By René Grousset. Paris: Geuthner. 74 1929. 2 vols., 10 x 6½ in. Pp. xviii + 771, 33 plates, 7 maps. Price 250 frs.

The author's conception of "l'Extrême-Orient" is a wide one, for he deals with India, China, Central Asia, Indo-China, and, more incidentally, with Tibet, Korea, Ceylon and the Indian Archipelago. The history of India is confined, in substance, to that of Hindu and Buddhist India; but in the case of China and Indo-China the story is continued nearly to the end of the eighteenth century. Of the strictly historical portion, the part relating to China and its relations with its neighbours, particularly with Central Asia, is the most elaborate.

But in addition to political events, the work deals also with the development of

religion, philosophy and art. The author has succeeded in making his account of all these matters very clear and interesting, though not everybody, perhaps, will agree with his appreciation of certain specimens of art which he discusses. The fine plates, useful maps, very full classified bibliography, and index of proper names and Oriental words, add much to the value of the book. I have noticed a few misprints, mostly of no great moment. But did the Indian Vikrama era really begin in A.D. 58? We used to be told that its initial date was B.C. 58.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

Anatomy.

Broom.

The Origin of the Human Skeleton. By R. Broom, D.Sc., F.R.S. Demy 8vo. 75 Pp. 164. With numerous figures and diagrams. London, 1930. Price 10s. 6d.

This admirable little book should prove of great service to all who are embarking on a course of study of the human skeleton. It is very simply and clearly written and the diagrams are so numerous that even a reader with no previous knowledge of the subject should have little difficulty in understanding the argument. The author's views are well known from his various publications, especially the Croonian lectures. There are naturally many points on which there is at present considerable doubt, and often difference of opinion. Professor Broom is, however, not pains to point out where evidence is lacking and where he differs from others who have studied the subject. The main body of the book is occupied in a description of the evolution of the various parts of skeleton, about half being devoted to the skull, a chapter each to the vertebrae and sternum, and the anterior and posterior limb. The book concludes with a very brief but most stimulating essay on evolutionary factors. There is a short bibliography and an index which might with advantage have been elaborated. The illustrations and diagrams are very clear, but they have rather the appearance of being home made; the value of the book would have been very considerably increased had they been redrawn by a professional artist. The lettering especially is by no means good, and it seems a pity that so admirable a book should lack the finish which it richly deserves.

L. H. D. B.

Folklore.

Lee.

Folk Tales of All Nations. Edited by F. H. Lee. London: Geo. G. Harrap & Co., 1931. Pp. xix + 947. 8½ x 5½ in. Price 8s. 6d. net.

The spreading cult of the "omnibus" volume here gives us, in pleasing abundance and variety, stories chosen from the lore of peoples—civilized, barbarous, or savage—in many parts of the world. The tales have been arranged geographically in sixty-four groups, comprising each from two or three stories to about twenty. A short introduction to each group sets forth salient matters

concerned with the narrators or with their tales, and helps to an understanding and an appreciation not only of the tales themselves but of what lies behind them. The editor has been extremely fortunate in obtaining permissions to reprint selections from the standard collections of folk-stories, and uncommonly wise in the exercising of his privileges. Clearly printed, on thin paper, the book is, despite its many pages, easy to handle. It should bring new pleasure to the folklorist, who will meet again many old favourites, as also to the "general reader," who through it will be introduced to an enchanting world of thought, far removed from that in which he normally has his being. W. L. H.

Evolution.

Clark.

The New Evolution: Zoogenesis. By Austin H. Clark. London (Baillière), 1930. 8vo. Pp. xiv, 297, with 141 figures. Price 13s. 6d. net. **77**

A popular but carefully written survey of animal life, only touching anthropological problems in chapter III (Man and the Apes), and on pp. 217 ff. of the final "summary." The author, a member of the staff of the U.S. National Museum, has written other popular books on zoology. J. L. M.

Africa: East.

Huxley.

Africa View. Julian Huxley. London: Chatto & Windus. 1931. Pp. 455. 50 illustrations. Price 15s. **78**

In 1929 Professor Huxley was invited by the Colonial Office to visit East Africa and advise on certain aspects of native education, and this book is one result of his tour.

A glance at the illustrations and the first chapter is calculated to give the impression that it is an ordinary book of travel, but this is far from being the case. The book is a well-informed, thoughtful and courageous statement of the problems, political, educational and economic, which confront us in East Africa, and as far as most of them are concerned, throughout our African dependencies. This is not the place to discuss these problems, and it need only be said that Professor Huxley repeatedly stresses the need for anthropological knowledge.

Incidentally, he gives us an interesting glimpse of Mr. Leakoy in his "archaeological camp" on the edge of the Great Rift.

RAGLAN.

Britain.

Rendel Harris.

The Sunset Essays. By Rendel Harris. Cambridge (Heffer), 1930. Nos. 1-7. Price 13s. 6d. **79**

These essays are full of reminders that the ancients were much the same men as we are and acted much in the same way. We find ourselves agreeing on generalities but receive a shock whenever we come to particulars, to statements such as that our Tebay is Thebes and Westwater is Egyptian. A. M. HOCART.

Africa

Maes: Lavachery.

L'Art Nègre à l'Exposition du Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1930. Par J. Maes et H. Lavachery. Bruxelles-Paris (Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire), 1930. 9½ in. × 7½ in. Pp. 32, 48 plates. Price 30 francs. **80**

The art of the African negro, naïve as it may appear to be on the face of it, has its successes, and though the human form is usually distorted, there is often a boldness of conception and execution that makes an appeal to us. We may find beauty in a wooden image of a Bushongo chief, even if we need to discard some of our own prejudices and conventions before we make the discovery; we can allow for the unforced stylising of the negro craftsman, who cuts his wood according to the traditions of his place and time, but the craving to adapt the style for the production of marble grotesques is limited to a few. The studio products of distortionist art are not so attractive as the native originals, and most of us would give the black art preference over the white.

This interesting publication, which is more than an exhibition guide, brings together a number of photographs, reproduced in half-tone, of negro carvings and castings from the Belgian Congo, and from the Gaboon, Benin, and other parts of West Africa. The specimens illustrated are in various museums and private collections, and not all of them were on view at the exhibition itself. Amongst those figured are some of the finest-known examples of negro art, especially as representing the human face and figure, and the introductory observations by the two authors on the scope and intention of the art itself add to the value of a book which will be of service to students and museum officers, as well as to some sculptors. H. S. HARRISON.

Source Book.

Kroeber: Waterman.

Source Book in Anthropology. By A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman. Revised Edition. Pp. 571. Illustrated. Now York. 1931. **81**

The compilers of this admirable book state that the selection has been made with the idea of stimulating discussion and not because the passages present ultimate scientific truth. In its original form the book included chiefly articles which were inaccessible; this selection includes a much wider field, though the editors have necessarily been limited by the copyright laws which have induced them to include a 50 per cent. selection of American writers, because the latter publish more frequently monographs in scientific journals. Excellent as the book is, educationally it is unsatisfactory. The work is so comprehensive that there may be a tendency for the student to consider that it contains all that is essential for him to read. No doubt the compilers would be the foremost opponents of such a theory, but the average student is a busy person, and he will naturally prefer not to "waste" his time searching in a library, when he finds what he wants in one volume, thereby losing most valuable training and probably a lot of incidental reading which cannot but be beneficial. L. H. D. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

History of Science.

Adams.

Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology.

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SIR,—The Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology will take place in London from Monday, June 29th, to Friday, July 3rd, 1931, with the Science Museum, South Kensington, as its headquarters. Dr. Charles Singer will be the President.

The Congress originated with the *Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences* which was founded at Oslo on August 17th, 1928. This body meets annually in Paris and organizes every three years a Congress in which persons interested in the History of Science and Technology are invited to take part. For the coming Congress the *Comité* has been fortunate in enlisting the co-operation of its parent body, the *Comité International des Sciences Historiques*, together with that of two other international Societies—the *History of Science Society*, Washington, D.C., and the *Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology*, London. The aim of the Congress is to provide opportunity for intercourse and exchange of thought between all those who are interested in the various departments of the History of Science and Technology.

The programme will include morning sessions for the presentation and discussion of communications on the history of science and technology, afternoon visits to Kew Gardens, Down House, Greenwich, Barbers Hall, the Royal College of Physicians, the British Museum, the Natural History Museum and the National Portrait Gallery, excursions to Oxford and Cambridge and social engagements in the evenings.

Further particulars can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary of the Congress: H. W. Dickinson, The Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W.7.

WALTER ADAMS.

The Science Museum, Asst. Hon. Sec.
S.W.7.

Sacrifice.

Thomas.

SIR,—Before applying psycho-analytic methods to "Sacrifice" we ought, I think, to determine very clearly the significance with which the word is used. It may connote life-taking (actual or symbolical) with at least six distinct objects:—

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(a) *Totemic*—where the stress is rather upon the ensuing communal feast than the slaying.

(b) *Alimentary*—where the life taken is designed to increase the vitality of a god or spirit, or to supply spirit-food by means of the flesh.

(c) *Fertility*—where the object is to stimulate the productiveness of fields, flocks, the community, etc.

(d) *Funerary*—this may comprise (b), besides the sending over of human beings and

animals as spirit-beings to serve a deceased master's needs.

(e) *Prescriptive*—in which a god is given his dues in the form of the life, e.g. of the first-born or substitute.

(f) *Expiatory*—to avert or palliate the wrath of gods, etc., for evil done.

Now in none of these, except (f), is the sacrifice directly due to fear, nor is fear a necessary concomitant of them.

And need we resort to the Oedipus complex to explain its origin?

Lo the poor Indian with untutored mind

Sees God in storms and hears him in the wind.

If the idea of God is fictitious this attitude towards the mysterious still sufficiently accounts for it. Moreover, in view of the fact that some of the lower animals recognize, however dimly, the power of the leader of the herd when there can be no question of any awareness of father-control, as such, is it not more probable, *ceteris paribus*, that the primitive idea of God is due to this herd-instinct of fear and obedience than to the Oedipus complex which plays no part at all in so many happy family circles?

E. S. THOMAS.

Pitt Rivers Museum,
Oxford.

Bride-Price.

Raglan.

SIR,—Mr. Evans-Pritchard, in MAN, 1931, 42, suggests "bride-wealth" as a substitute for "bride-price." The latter term has its drawbacks, but is at any rate English and self-explanatory; "bride-wealth," I submit, is neither. The word "wealth" connotes a static condition of being rich or prosperous; it is entirely inapplicable to a transfer of property. If I were asked to translate into English "he received bride-wealth," I should suggest "he married an heiress."

The unsuitability of the term appears clearly if we try to apply it to cases in which girls are exchanged. We can say that one girl was the "price" of another; to say that one girl was the "wealth" of another is absurd.

Mr. Evans-Pritchard says: "the authorities on whom Lord Raglan relies did not delve very deeply into the problems of bride-wealth." I never suggested that they did. I merely quoted them to show that disputes about bride-price are widespread and frequent, and concluded from this, and from my own experience, that the payment of bride-price partakes of the character of a commercial transaction, and is certainly not, as I understood Mr. Driberg to allege, a mere matter of ritual.

RAGLAN.

Cefntilla Court, Usk.

Bride-Price.

Seligman.

SIR,—We warmly support Dr. Evans-Pritchard's suggestion to substitute "bride-wealth" for the commonly used "bride-price," and consider it far superior to

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the other words recently proposed; we shall therefore use it in our forthcoming work on the Sudan. We cannot, however, agree that "bride-money" or any other non-Arabic term is permissible in writing of Islamic cultures. The Arabic word *mahr* is so well known and carries so precise a juridical meaning that it is a mistake to try to translate it, and certainly no other word should be substituted for it.

C. G. SELIGMAN.

Toot Baldon, Oxford.

B. Z. SELIGMAN.

Britain: Iron Age.

Clark.

SIR,—In MAN, 1925, 83, Mrs. M. E. Cunington claims a typical example of the Thames pick as of Iron Age date. Though "usually regarded as of later Palæolithic or 'Early Neolithic date,'" she writes, "the circumstances in which the Casterley example was found shows that they continued to be made in Britain well into the Iron Age." Now, without wishing in any way to deny the possibility of such a survival, I feel compelled to point out that the inferences which Mrs. Cunington draws from her particular discovery are hardly justifiable. To generalize in such a confident manner it would seem that the evidence of a particular discovery should be of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of a doubt. On the facts as given by Mrs. Cunington I cannot admit that such is, in fact, the case; in short, I see no reason why the association of a Thames pick with skeletons and a brooch of *La Tène* type in an Iron Age pit should not be a fortuitous one. The pit was, as Mrs. Cunington points out, one of exceptional size, measuring 17 feet by 15 feet across; this would give a circumference of approximately 50 feet. As the pit silted up, there would thus be material from a 50-foot rim falling and crumbling in, as the result of animal and climatic agencies. So far as I can see, Mrs. Cunington has stated no reasons to dispel all possibility of the pick's arrival in the pit in this silt; indeed, she does not seem to have so much as countenanced the idea. For this reason I regard her generalization as unwarrantable.

J. G. D. CLARK.

Magic.

Wilson-Haffenden.

SIR,—What is the character of illegal magic? Dealing with this problem in his kindly comments on my book, "The Red 'Mon of Nigeria,'" (MAN, 1931, 35), Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard says: "It is not easy to reconcile the statements of the author (p. 198) that rites of black magic 'are 'similarly bound up with moral concepts, 'for they are regarded as efficient to harm 'the wicked but not the good,' and by Professor Malinowski in the foreword (p. 13)

that "evil magic is used almost invariably in the execution of legally or morally valid 'grievances' with the use of magic for 'such criminal occupations as stealing, murdering, and abduction of females.'" (P. 210.)

Is it easier to reconcile the following statements of Dr. Evans-Pritchard in his article, "Sorcery and Native Opinion," in the current number of "Africa" (Vol. IV., No. 1, January, 1931, pp. 34, 35)? Referring to the character of illegal magic, he says, "it has none of the 'attributes of justice. . . . It is generally a personal weapon aimed at some individual whom the sorcerer dislikes. . . . Only a crime against the persons of such men will give the feeling of relief and 'sense of 'justice' so essential to restore the peace of mind of one who has been wronged by 'misfortune.'"

The italics are mine, and my comment is, "Exactly!" J. R. WILSON-HAFFENDEN.

Etiquette.

Hogbin.

SIR,—In reply to Mr. Hocart's letter (MAN, 1931, 40) I would like to suggest the following as a definition of etiquette:

Etiquette consists in the rules which regulate the behaviour of members of a society towards one another, but which have no further sanction than public opinion. The violation of these rules calls forth disapproval or ridicule, but the offender is not punished by any form of social machinery. On the other hand, a person who observes the rules with more than ordinary care is rewarded by public approval.

H. IAN HOGBIN.

Rites.

Hocart.

SIR,—Could any of your readers contribute clues or facts concerning rites observed on crossing the sea, whether before the journey, at sea, or on reaching the foreign country? Mr. Ivens' Island Builders of the Pacific fast while crossing the sea, but not on coastal journeys. This puts me in mind of other observances, and leads up to a working hypothesis to cover all these customs. I shall not state the hypothesis, as I should like the facts stated without bias for or against.

A. M. HOCART.

Couvade.

Myres.

SIR,—To judge from Mr. Alban Head's letter (MAN, 1931, 59), almost any practice reputed to cause damage to health might be described as a "Couvade" custom. But is not the word properly restricted to rites whereby the husband is believed to participate somehow in the wife's childbearing?

JOHN L. MYRES.



KHARGA OASIS:—AIR-VIEW OF PART OF THE FLINT-MINING AREA, TAKEN AT ABOUT 3,500 FEET
From a Photograph by Lady Bailey.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 91-110.

MAY, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Kharga Oasis.

With Plate E.

Caton-Thompson.

Royal Anthropological Institute's Prehistoric Research Expedition to Kharga Oasis, Egypt. Preliminary Outline of the Season's Work. By G. Caton-Thompson.

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More than a brief summary of the work accomplished, putting on immediate record the more prominent features, cannot at this moment be attempted: we are freshly back from the field, and the quiet study of results lies yet before us, as soon as our material, when released by the Department of Antiquities, reaches England.

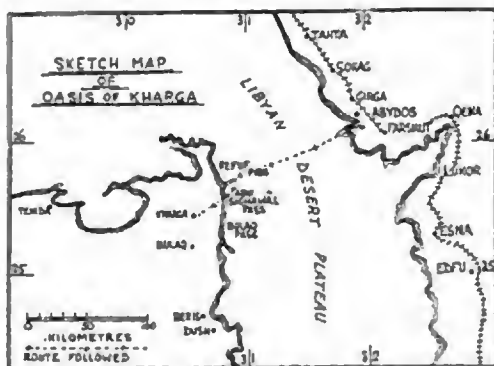
Whilst on the journey to Zimbabwe in December 1928, in view of future work, I spent a few days prospecting Kharga Oasis, and was sufficiently impressed to ask our Institute to apply forthwith for the concession. This was granted, inclusive with Baharia Oasis.

Miss E. W. Gardner, F.G.S., now Research Fellow at Lady Margaret Hall, was again my valued colleague, and her geological work, pursued as in the Faiyum in close collaboration with mine, promises a peculiarly rich harvest in Pliocene and Pleistocene geology.

Anxious to trace if possible from the outset, contacts between Kharga Oasis and the Nile Valley in post-palæolithic times (we know palæolithic man to be ubiquitous), we resolved to cross the 175 separating kilometres of the Libyan Plateau on foot, rather than by the narrow-gauge railway, whose weekly train has contributed so largely to the disuse of the ancient caravan routes.

With the kind assistance of Ahmed Bey Ragheb, Inspector of Irrigation for Upper Egypt, a "caravan" of nine camels and five bedouins was hired from the Sheikh of the Awazim Arabs. Two camels and a driver were paid off on arrival in Kharga; the remainder stopped, and were our means of transport for the whole season. These assembled at our temporary camp at Abydos, and on December 9th we started on the march to Kharga, accompanied additionally by three of my old Kufti workmen. We carried sufficient water not to hurry the traverse.

Owing to the steeply sand-blocked condition of the Abydos wadis, difficult to negotiate with heavily laden camels, the Wadi Samhûd and the gentler gradient taken by the railway was followed. This enabled some study of the travertines, which interdigitate with gravels near the mouth of this great wadi; a good collection of shells was made from them, whose correlation with those collected later from the Kharga travertines will be interesting.



We crossed the Plateau in five and a half days, and spent a sixth and seventh on the great scarp overlooking Kharga depression from the east. Wind-worn palæoliths were met right across, though in no place on the high desert were they present in the overwhelming numbers which make the cliffs near Abydos such a nightmare-paradise for the prehistorian.

The first Faiyum Neolithic connexions were unexpectedly picked up at a point only about 20 kilometres west of the Nile Valley scarp. An isolated conical hill to the south of our line of march invited attention, and we diverged towards it. On approach, a fine specimen of the characteristic type-tool of the Faiyum "B" culture was found—namely a "side-blow" flake.* At the base of the hill an outcrop of thin



FIG. 1.—IMPLEMENTS OF BADARIAN TYPE, FROM THE LIBYAN DESERT. Scale in centimetres.

tabular flint was exposed, and explained the scatter of implements of similar culture which lay around. The few sherds were, however, of Roman date.

The route we followed from the Nile valley to Kharga is dotted with Roman watering stations, placed at regular intervals: five big ones were noted and their positions fixed; they consist now of litters or piles of broken amphoræ, reddening the ground where they lie.

The next encounter with a "Neolithic" site was about 55 kilometres west of the first one, where a localized outcrop of thin tabular flint had not escaped early man's observation. Here the finds included the lovely arrow point, in translucent flint, diagonally flaked, shown in Fig. 1 centre†; a "side-blow" flake, and bifacial leaf-shaped arrow heads of Badarian type‡ (Fig. 1); a quantity of ostrich egg chips was

* A Faiyum specimen is figured in *Antiquity*, September 1927, p. 332, Fig. 1c.

† Kept by the Cairo Museum: a cast is being made.

‡ *The Badarian Civilization*, p. 37 and pl. xxix, G. Nos. 5116.

associated with the site, but no pottery. From this point onwards few miles were passed without picking up other implements belonging to this industry of both Faiyum and Badarian resemblances. It will be remembered that in the lake-watered Faiyum we had reason to suggest a relatively late age, not perhaps substantially preceding the earliest predynastic of the Nile Valley*, though with desert roots of far greater antiquity. Its occurrence, therefore, in regular "sites" in one of the most waterless stretches in the world is notable. As Mr. Beadnell says, "There are arid wastes in many parts of the world—in Australia, in the Western States of America, in Asia—but in point of desolateness, in the absence of animal and vegetable life, there is probably nothing to rival the greater part of the Libyan Desert on the west side of the Nile. Its barrenness is aggressive.†"

On the sixth day of our march we left a south-westerly bearing, and swung off south within a few kilometres of the Kharga scarp in order to see more of it before descending the 1,000 ft. into the Oasis. This digression was fortunate, as it landed us in the midst of one of the most remarkable flint-chipping areas it can ever have been the lot of man to see. Patch after patch, brown with cores, flakes and waste in honey-coloured flint, covered many square miles of desert ground: scores of tons of these could probably be removed without seriously affecting the spectacle.



FIG. 2.—KHARGA OASIS: FLINT MINES ON SCARP: A MINER'S WINDBREAK.

Querns lay about with their hand-rubbers, and chippings of ostrich egg-shell seemed to be definitely associated with man's past presence. Although a large quantity of palæoliths of Mousterian type were present, these remarkable "factory sites" were all apparently of post-palæolithic age, and yielded "side-blow" flakes in abundance and chipped flint axes; whilst microlithic cores and pygmy tools with double or single edge-batter, others worked into little shouldered points, were prominent. But the industry was by no means mainly a pygmy one, for long flakes were equally abundant. No trace of pottery could be found.

It was obvious that some great bed of much-prized flint must lie in the neighbourhood, and we pitched camp on the spot and went off in search of it. We found, however, on this occasion, no more than a limited outcrop over the cliff face, which showed no special sign of exploitation. It was not until some weeks later that the mining area, covering miles of the plateau edge, was found, and a relatively small

* *Recent Work on the Problems of Lake Moeris.* G.J. Vol. lxxiii. January 1929, pp. 40-41.

† *An Egyptian Oasis*, p. 1.

bit of it was examined. A slight lowering in the level of the high limestone plateau has brought practically to the surface a band of tabular flint, and the area is pitted with shallow workings. Fig. 2, taken on the mining area, shows the ground brown with artificially procured flint débris. The aspect of these workings is further shown in the air photograph, Plate E, where the darker carpet on the scarp edge is due solely to patinated flint waste thrown up in the mining. The age of these workings is a complex question into which I cannot profitably enter until another season has given me opportunity to study them over a wider area and in greater detail. Mousterian palæoliths abound amongst the workings, as however also do "side-blow" flakes and other symptoms of later exploitation. A further interest to the question is introduced by the presence of crescentic stone wind-breaks, which are dotted over the mining area, their backs to the prevalent north-west blast. One of these, 0·80 m. high, is seen in Fig. 2. They are all filled with drift-sand, and I cleared out eighteen. They yielded charcoal; masses of flint waste; a few pieces of unburnt wood; débris of meals, including the almost unbelievable find of a fish-bone; gazel horns (in which one longs, probably erroneously, to see affinities with the reindeer picks of Europe); sherds; and some half dozen complete bowls or pots. These last, though I speak from a field impression only which may need revision, appear to be of such late historic age as to be irreconcilable with the other evidence. It will be amongst my tasks next season to study this riddle in detail.

Before passing on to our work in the Oasis itself, mention should be made of the important field of geological work offered by the magnificent travertine formations on the Kharga scarp, crowded with beautifully preserved reeds and leaves of several species, among which *Quercus ilex* alone has so far been recognized. These, their origin, modes of occurrence, age, and relation to the formation of the Oasis itself, all unresolved questions of more than local importance, which no-one appears to have studied, await intensive geological inquiry, and next season Miss Gardner, who will shortly be publishing a preliminary account, proposes to devote herself to this work.

Arrived in Kharga Oasis, we set off on a general reconnaissance of the northern half of the oasis. A map is of far greater primary importance in archæology than a spade, and we wished first of all to understand our ground and note the positions of points of archæological, topographical and geological importance before embarking on any excavations. From a series of six camps we covered systematically most of the ground lying north of Kharga village. The major conclusion of this survey, intimately affecting the manner of approach to our research on prehistoric man's presence in the depression, was that the oasis floor had never contained a lake, and that the curious silt hummocks, which are such a prominent feature of certain areas, were due mainly to localised overflow from springs. Receding shore-lines were not destined here to be, as in the Faiyum, our main archæological line of approach; and since our reconnaissance failed to produce a single rock-shelter or prehistoric site of any stratigraphical value, though beautiful surface flints, palæolithic and later, abounded, we were left wondering what weapon remained with which to attack our problems. The spring deposits have provided it.

The history of the springs and wells of the oases remains to be written: it is not known which of the wells are natural springs, and which have been created by artificial borings; nor, in the case of the latter, to what age the oldest date back. The remarkable rock-cut underground conduits, well described by Mr. Beadnell,* and so beautifully seen in our air photographs, are popularly referred to a Roman date. It may be so, though they may, I think, with perhaps greater probability, be Persian.

* *An Egyptian Oasis*. Chapter xii.

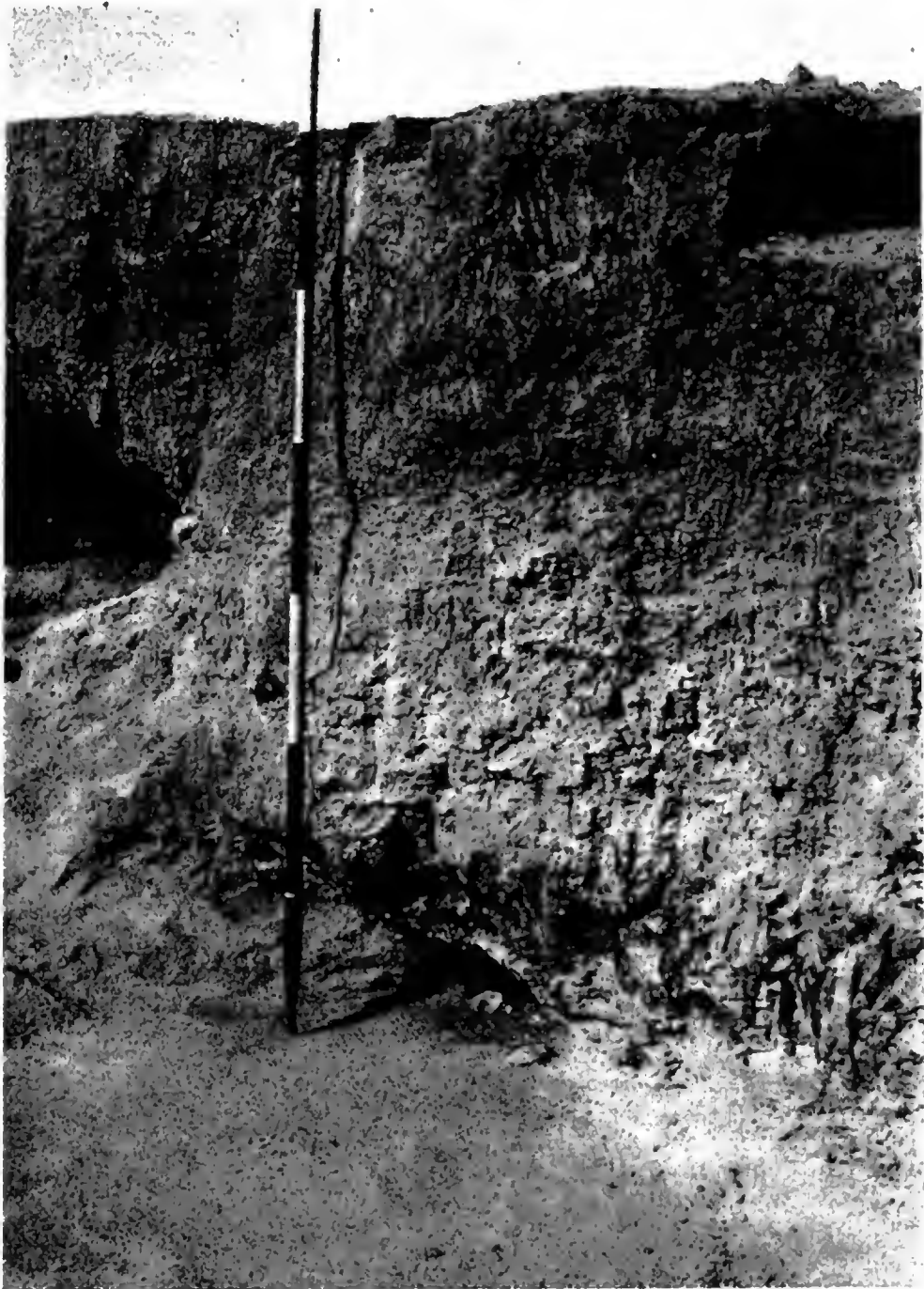


FIG. 3.—“FOSSIL” SPRING DEPOSITS AND TWO IMPLEMENTS *in situ*.★

A long natural ridge some miles east of Kharga village had, in 1928, attracted my attention owing to the remarkable quantities of fine flint implements, Mousterian and “Neolithic,” which lay upon it, in distinction to the barrenness of the surrounding desert. This ridge is rendered yet more striking in featureless surroundings by the

sharply defined crater-like mounds of intensely hard sand-rock which cap it. Small "koms" of Roman or post-Roman date cover its northern end, with masses of pottery, and traces of old sand-filled wells and irrigation channels testify to its water-yielding capacity in late historic times.

We returned there this year to investigate the flint industries, both in relation to each other and also to the historic "koms." It was noticeable that the Mousterian series was confined almost entirely to the southern end of the ridge, developing into great patches around the base of a prominent "crater." Miss Gardner's surmise that the "crater" itself would yield them *in situ* caused trenches to be cut across it, with the result that it showed itself to be a "fossil" spring deposit, 9 metres in depth, composed of alternating clays, loams and pure white sands. From it was obtained an abundant palæolithic industry of remarkable character, distributed over one main, perfectly sealed, working floor (Fig. 3), and therefore almost certainly of one age. This discovery, the first of its kind in Egypt, where we are still so badly documented on the stratigraphical position of palæolithic cultures, must be the subject of a separate paper. But I publish here a representative series of implements in Fig. 4, since they introduce a totally new factor into the subject of the Mousterian culture of Egypt. Nos. 1-6 are struck tortoise-cores of classic Mousterian type; some are even "beaked" in the peculiar Egyptian manner pointed out by Professor Seligman.* About 200 of these were collected. Nos. 7-9 are unstruck, or unsuccessfully struck, cores. Nos. 10-11 are characteristic "disos" so familiar in the Mousterian of the Nile Valley and the Faiyum. Nos. 12-13 show the upper faces, and 14-15 the under faces, of two finely retouched points with faceted butts.

So far our industry remains true to type, and about 95 per cent. of it falls into a pure Mousterian category. With Nos. 16-17, however, representing oval bifacial tools, we are reminded of the 'Sbaikian; whilst in Nos. 18-21, tanged points, of which 28 were found, we are confronted with a typical "Atérien" implement; an underface is seen in No. 22. Nos. 23-24 are large bifacial laurel leaves, No. 24 in particular being a lovely slender specimen over 13 cm. long. The flints are either china white, unpatinated, blue, or stained a light buff by contact with iron-charged deposits. Without opportunity for comparative study I have provisionally called this industry "Atérien" on the strength of the tanged points. But as the near-thropic features of the French North-African Atérien—namely end-scrapers, nosed-scrapers, etc.—are absent in our industry, whilst the laurel leaves introduce an element absent in the Atérien of Algeria and Tunisia, I use the designation with reservations, whose limits will be apparent when comparative material has been studied.

Another spring yielded a later—probably Neolithic—industry *in situ*.

Here, then, in the "fossil" spring deposits of Kharga Oasis we have a magnificent chance of resolving the stratigraphical succession of the Stone-Age industries, which are represented both in the depression itself, and so prolifically upon the bounding scarp; and it seems not unlikely that the deposits themselves, with marked evidences of alternations of quiescence and great activity of water discharge, may provide us with an unexpected instrument of great value in palæo-climatic enquiry. The geology of these Pleistocene springs, including much slipping and faulting of the beds, will be dealt with by Miss Gardner elsewhere.

The season came to a particularly stimulating end with the aerial survey of the whole oasis and its surroundings. The Hon. Lady Bailey, D.B.E., with whom I discussed the project before leaving England, most generously placed her machine, and her services as pilot at my disposal, and, the necessary permits from the Egyptian and British Governments having been obtained, flew out to us from England, and

* "The Older Palæolithic Age in Egypt" *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. li. January—June 1921.

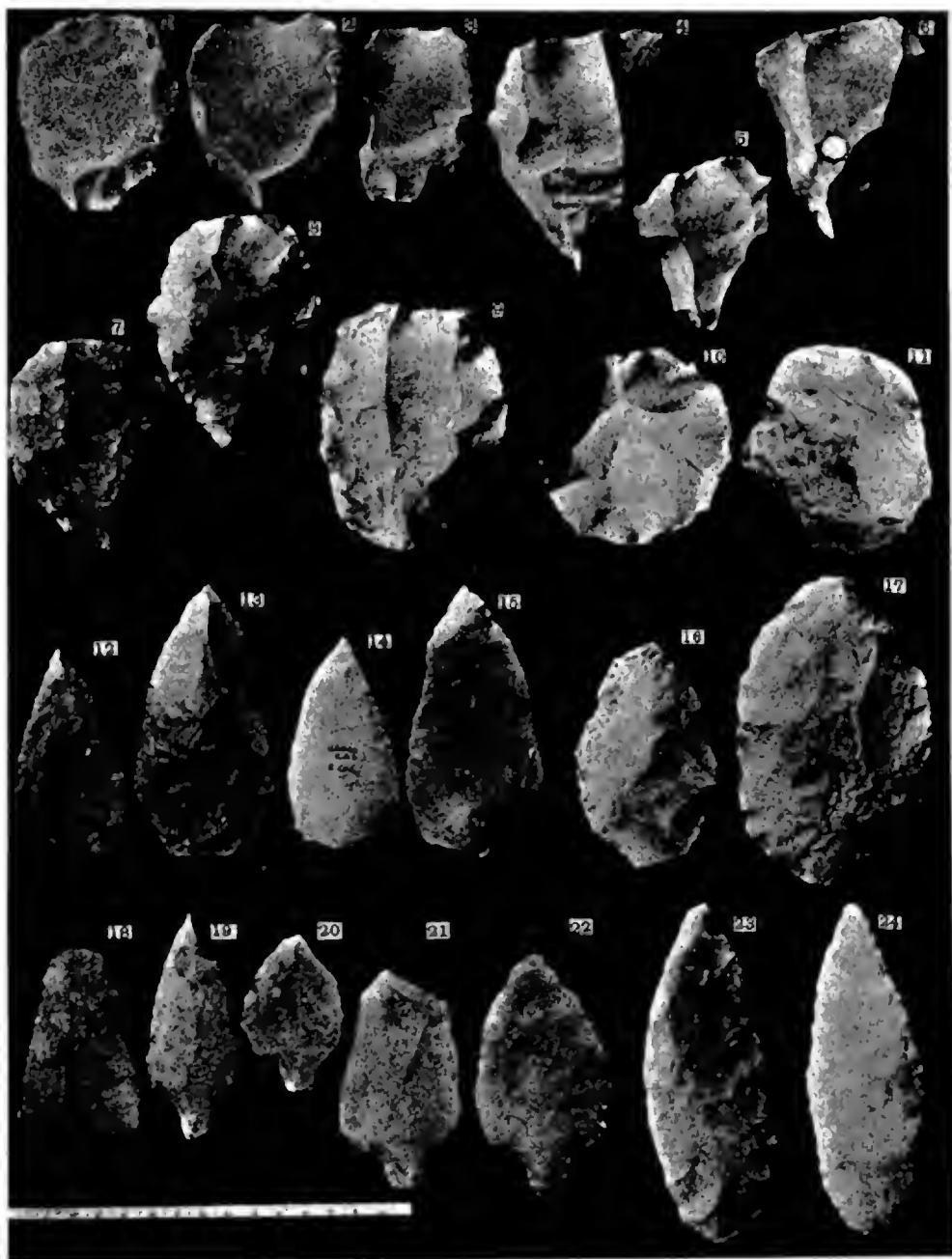


FIG. 3.—A SPECIALIZED MOUSTERIAN INDUSTRY WITH "ATERIAN" AFFINITIES; FROM "FOSSIL" SPRING DEPOSITS, KHARGA OASIS. *Scale in Centimetres.*

landed at our desert camp on February 17th. The early hours of most of the mornings of her fortnight's visit were spent cruising over our concession, and the surrounding plateaux. The gain both to our archæological and geological work is inestimable. Not only have we localized the areas where "finds" are likely to occur, but we have been saved dreary days of tramping over ground we now see to

be useless. An excellent series of aerial photographs were taken by Lady Bailey in the course of these flights, and one forms the subject of Plate E. It was solely owing to the wonderful view of these vast tracts of desert from the air that I was enabled to realize the area covered by the flint mines. The ancient irrigation systems of the oasis also show up with wonderful clearness.

On the termination of her work with us Lady Bailey flew me back to Cairo, from where we aerially visited and photographed certain features in my old concession in the Northern Faiyum.

The work which, if funds permit, we hope to continue next season, was made possible by generous grants from the Percy Sladen Trustees and the British Association, Newnham College and the Worts Fund: to the firm nucleus, thus provided, noble contributions from many private individuals and museums brought up the total to the £1,000 necessary to take the field. Of this sum about £200 remains in hand to be carried forward.

G. CATON-THOMPSON.

Australia.

Scullin.

Protection of Aborigines in Australia. *A Letter from the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Right Hon. J. H. Scullin.*

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The President of the Royal Anthropological Institute has received the following reply to a memorandum submitted by the Council to the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth in regard to the protection of aborigines in Australia:—

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Prime Minister, Minister for External Affairs, Canberra.

28th Feb., 1931.

Dear Sir,

On my return to Australia, I brought to the notice of my colleague, the Minister for Home Affairs—who controls the administration of matters pertaining to the protection of aborigines in North Australia and Central Australia—your letter of the 2nd October, 1930.

The following observations are now submitted in regard to the various matters referred to in the letter in question.

During the period that the Northern Territory was under the control of the Government of South Australia, a number of areas was specially set aside as reserves for aborigines.

In 1913, shortly after the transfer of the Northern Territory to the control of the Commonwealth, the late Sir W. Baldwin Spencer, Professor of Biology at the Melbourne University, was specially commissioned to visit the Northern Territory and to submit a report on the aborigines and the methods that should be adopted for the administration of aboriginal affairs.

In his report, Professor Baldwin Spencer recommended that areas totalling 7,000 square miles should be reserved for aborigines. These areas, he considered, were the minimum necessary for making adequate provision for the aborigines.

Since 1913, the area under reservation for aborigines has been gradually extended until at the present time a total area of approximately 60,000 square miles has been reserved.

In addition to the 60,000 square miles of reserves, an area of 1,928 square miles is held under mission lease, and an area of 251,520 square miles (nearly half the total area of the Territory) is unalienated.

As a further protection of the interests of aborigines, it is provided in the Crown Lands Ordinance that pastoral leases (which are the leases principally affecting aborigines and which account for the greater part of the leased land) shall contain

a reservation giving to all aborigines and their descendants "full and free right of ingress, egress and regress into, upon and over the leased land and every part thereof and in and to the springs and natural surface waters thereon, and to make and erect thereon such wurlies and other dwellings as those aboriginal inhabitants have before the commencement of the lease been accustomed to make and erect, and to take and use for food birds and animals *feræ naturæ* in such manner as they would have been entitled to do if the lease had not been made."

The estimated total aboriginal population of North Australia and Central Australia (including half-castes) is 21,000. Of this number, approximately 14,000 may be regarded as nomadic or not closely in touch with civilization.

In view of the foregoing, it is considered that ample provision for a considerable number of years has been made by the Commonwealth Government in respect of the land requirements of the aborigines of North Australia and Central Australia.

In noting the views of your Institute in regard to this matter, I desire to state that, in the event of any material increase in the area of land alienated, the Commonwealth Government may be relied upon to take adequate steps to ensure that the interests of the aboriginal population of the Territory are safeguarded.

With regard to your recommendation for the unification of the administration of the reserves under the Commonwealth, and the transfer of all questions affecting aborigines still in their traditional groups and organizations to this Government, I would point out that it would be extremely difficult, in existing circumstances, for this recommendation to be adopted.

The jurisdiction of the Commonwealth in respect of aborigines extends only to the aborigines in North Australia and Central Australia. Aborigines in the various States come within the jurisdiction of the State Governments.

Some time ago, a suggestion was made by a number of bodies in Australia interested in the welfare of aborigines, that the control of the whole of the aborigines and half-castes in Australia should be vested in the Commonwealth Government. This Government took the matter up with the various States, but the consensus of opinion of the State authorities was opposed to any such transfer of control.

The States maintained that the provisions made by them for the protection and welfare of the aborigines under their control were quite adequate and satisfactory, and that no advantage to the aboriginal would accrue from the adoption of the proposal to transfer control to the Commonwealth.

The constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia expressly excludes the Government of the Commonwealth from legislating in respect of the aboriginal race in any State. It is not possible, therefore, for the Commonwealth to take any action in respect of the control of aborigines in the various States without the concurrence of the State Governments.

The Chief Protector of Aborigines of North Australia has had the advantage of a special course in Anthropology at the University of Sydney under the direction of Professor Radcliffe-Brown. Apart from this special course, he has had extensive practical experience of aborigines, not only in North Australia and Central Australia, but also in Western Australia and Queensland.

The Protectors have not undergone any special course in Anthropology, but they have had practical experience of aborigines extending over a considerable number of years. The very nature of their appointments requires that the majority of them must live in close proximity to aborigines, that they must periodically traverse the country occupied by aborigines, and that they must employ aborigines to assist them in their work.

It is realized that the efficiency of these officers would be considerably enhanced by adding to their practical experience the scientific knowledge to be gathered from a course in anthropology. An endeavour will be made to arrange that when such

officers proceed on leave they shall be given an opportunity of attending the short courses in practical anthropology provided by the University of Sydney.

The recommendation of your Institute that mission stations should not be entrusted with the protection of aborigines, at all events within the reserve-lands, has been noted.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. SCULLIN, Prime Minister.

The President, Royal Anthropological Institute,
52, Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C.1.

Britain: Archæology.

Vulliamy.

Discovery of a Saxon Sword in Wales. *By C. E. Vulliamy.*

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Early in September, 1930, with the permission of Major W. de Winton of Maesllwch Castle, Glasbury, I carried out two excavations on the south Radnorshire hills, within the parish boundary of Llowes.

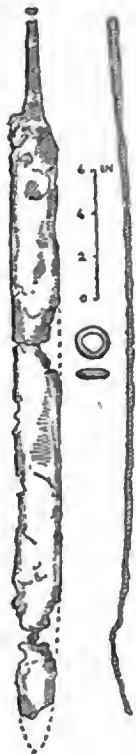
I first of all opened a round barrow, situated on open moorland, about 1,140 feet above O.D. Concerning this, little need be said. Beyond the usual scattered evidence of cremated burial—pinches of charcoal and minute fragments of calcined bone—we found nothing of interest, and certainly nothing which would afford a clue to the date of the mound.

The second digging was in a hut-circle approximately 650 yards north of the barrow, also on open moorland, and on higher ground, about 1,250 feet above O.D. In view of the totally unexpected nature of our discoveries here, the site must be described in some detail.

A low, inconspicuous bank of turf and stones marks the wall of the hut, and encloses a space of 30 feet in diameter. It cannot be definitely stated that the hut was of corbelled construction, and it seems to me improbable that such was the case; but the interior is filled with sandstone blocks of moderate size, which have probably fallen in from the roof, and are clearly not the remains of a paved floor. Interspersed with these blocks are one or two of larger size, and a lining of massive blocks appears to have revetted the wall on the inner side. Nothing like a complete excavation could be attempted in the time at our disposal, and no traces of interior construction were revealed.

In this digging I was accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Kendrick and Mr. Gerard de Winton. After making a few experimental clearings, we drove a trench across the enclosure from east to west. The floor was definitely reached at a depth of 18 inches to 2 feet below the turf. We found in the line of the trench, but not elsewhere, pinches of charcoal and small pieces of burnt bone, closely resembling those in the adjacent barrow. The pieces of bone were too small to permit exact identification, but were certainly not human. Mrs. Kendrick discovered a small flint knife, 2½ inches long, broken in two pieces and badly damaged by fire. Two other pieces of burnt flint, obviously the remains of flake implements, were subsequently found.

So far, the archæological material was precisely what might have been anticipated, though of little assistance in dating the hut. No pottery was found. But the discovery of a small, thick, bronze ring, about 1½ inches in diameter, in the *débris* just above the floor near the western sector of the wall, was certainly surprising. This discovery was followed almost at once by that of an iron sword, broken in two pieces, lying horizontally on the flat, and buried in the collapsed material of the wall.



The sword was thickly coated with yellow rust. Although the two pieces fit together at the fractured edges, they were not in contact when found. As will be seen from the illustration, made after the cleaning of the fragments, the blade is badly corroded, with a ragged outline, and the point is missing. Fortunately, the tang is well preserved.

I had little hesitation, at the time of the find, in ascribing the sword to the Saxon period. It has been recently examined by those who are more competent to offer an opinion, and it may be safely assumed that both sword and ring belong to the pagan period—400 to 500 A.D. Perhaps the possibility of a rather later date need not be entirely ruled out. In regard to an earlier date (i.e. La Tène), the morphological evidence of the tang and shoulder render such a possibility extremely remote. Both tang and shoulder correspond closely with datable examples of the Saxon sword. At the same time, in describing the sword with some confidence as a Saxon weapon, I am prepared to admit that the possibility of a La Tène date, remote as it is, cannot be absolutely rejected. As the pommel is unfortunately missing, we are left without conclusive evidence of actual date. The complete weapon would have measured about 34 inches from tang to point, with a maximum width of a little over 2 inches.

It is of interest to note that the find was made at a spot fourteen or fifteen miles west of the line of Offa's Dyke, and eight or nine miles south of the alleged site of Garth-Maelog (Llanbister), where the Welsh are supposed to have won a victory over the Mercians in 722. The Garth-Maelog site is in the neighbourhood of a short dyke—perhaps the remains of a temporary defensible work. See the admirable report on Offa's Dyke by Dr. Cyril Fox, reprinted from *Arch. Camb.*

The ring lay within a few inches of the point of the sword: it has been unequally worn in use, and may have served in the suspension of the sword from a belt. Admittedly, it is thicker in section than most rings of a like sort found in Saxon burials, and, if an isolated find, might have been tentatively ascribed to La Tène.

I hope that work on the site may be continued at an early date, when a further report will be submitted.

C. E. VULLIAMY.

N.B.—A Saxon dagger and a spear ferrule were found in one of the Worlebury hut-circles, near Weston-super-Mare (*Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, VII, 51; *V. C. H. Somerset*, I, 374.) The association of these relics with hut-circles, if they are indubitably Saxon, obviously raises an interesting problem. I am indebted to Mrs. D. P. Dobson for information.

Congresses.

Myres.

International Congresses: A Third Report of Negotiations. By **94**
John L. Myres, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Since my Further Report (MAN, 1931, 63, § I-IV) was printed, the following further communications have been received, from various quarters, all indicating the general interest which has been aroused in the proper organization of international congresses for anthropological, ethnological, and prehistoric studies.

V.

The following further communications have been received, too late for publication in the March number of MAN:—

- (1) The Bulgarian Archaeological Institute resolved on 27 February, 1931, "que le congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie pré-historiques devait rester indépendant et itinérant, en se réorganisant administrativement selon ses anciens statuts."

(2) The Società Romana di Antropologia, on 14 March, 1931, resolved "che siano ripristinati gli antichi congressi di antropologia e di archeologia preistorica, indipendenti ed amministrati secondo gli antichi statuti auspicando ogni più cordiale cooperazione con l'*Institut international d'anthropologie*."

(3) The Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, on 24 March, 1931, adopted unanimously the resolutions of the British Joint Committee on 17 March, as follows:—

The Council, while recognizing the services rendered to anthropology in general by the sessions of the *Institut international d'anthropologie*, and the good will expressed in its agreement with the Permanent Committee of the *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*, expresses nevertheless in the most cordial spirit the hope that, in view of unforeseen difficulties, the Congress may resume its work in accordance with its own statutes as an independent and itinerant body.

The Council expresses the hope that, in view of the close relations between all the aspects of prehistoric archæology and the more general studies of anthropology and ethnology which illustrate them, any future Congress for prehistoric studies may admit discussion of questions in general anthropology and ethnology: and requests those of its members who have been invited to the forthcoming meeting of prehistoric archæologists at Bern, to convey, in the most cordial spirit, this expression of opinion to that meeting.

VI.

"The current number of *L'Anthropologie* contains a full and plain-spoken retrospect of the whole question, written with "inside knowledge" of the negotiations which began at the International Congress of Archæology at Barcelona in 1929 and have led up to the projected meeting at Bern (MAN, 1931, 63, §II). The long list of supporters of this movement is sufficient indication of its importance, and the inclusion of distinguished French names is a sufficient guarantee that the vested interests of any French institution already in the field will not be overlooked.

VII.

From Professor Bosch-Gimpera comes the formal summons to the Bern meeting on Thursday, 28 May: "une reunion préparatoire où seraient discutés les problèmes relatifs à la reprise des Congrès internationaux." Professor Bosch-Gimpera adds that the majority of the replies to his preliminary circular "font également ressortir la nécessité de grouper d'une façon indépendante toutes les disciplines (géologie, anthropologie, préhistorique, paléontologie, animale et végétale, archéologie, etc.) qui concourent, aujourd'hui plus que jamais, au développement des sciences préhistoriques."

Obviously (as M. Bosch-Gimpera writes in a personal letter, with which I entirely agree), there are two directions in which the Bern meeting may contribute much:—

(1) It may elicit opinions from leading students of prehistoric questions, and of problems related to them, on the side either of prehistoric anthropology, or of oriental and classical cultures the study of which goes back into protohistoric and prehistoric times;

(2) It may discuss the need for international organization suited to the present state of prehistoric studies, and define the relations between such organization and others, such as the *Institut international* and the International Congress of Archæology, which are more or less directly concerned with these studies. It is at this point that the resumption of the old *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*, in accordance with its actual statutes, seems to be a simple and obvious solution, provided this can be effected by friendly agreement with all interested parties, and in the fullest and most cordial spirit of international co-operation.

VIII.

It will perhaps assist those who do not remember the actual working of the pre-war congresses, if its principles are here briefly summarized from the statutes of 1912. The Congress is itinerant, and may not meet twice in succession in the same country (§II). Each Congress determines the next place of meeting and elects from members resident in that country (1) the new president, (2) an organizing committee (§IV). This Committee may add to its numbers and appoint also corresponding members to organize support in other countries (§V). It fixes the date of the Congress, issues invitations, appoints the Treasurer, raises funds, collects subscriptions, registers members, and makes all needful provision for the meetings (§VI), but it must reserve part of the sessions for communications offered at the last moment (§VII). At the first session of the Congress, a Council and an executive Bureau are appointed, which replaces the organizing committee, and assists the President and Treasurer to conduct the affairs of the Congress (§VIII and XI); at a second session, a committee is appointed consisting of the General Secretary, Treasurer, and other members of the country where the Congress is meeting, to publish proceedings and settle accounts (§XII); if there is a surplus, it is handed forward to the next Congress (§XIII). Amendments to the statutes must be (a) proposed at *one* Congress by at least ten members, (b) considered by the Council during *that* Congress, (c) published, with the Council's opinion, in the printed report, (d) accepted or rejected, without discussion, at the first session of the *next* Congress (§XVI).

There is also provision for a "Permanent Council," composed of all former presidents, honorary vice-presidents, former general secretaries, etc., authorised to maintain the traditions of the Congress, to make preliminary enquiries as to places of meeting, and to deal with emergencies. In the long interval since the last pre-war Congress, this Permanent Council is reduced to the following seven persons:—the Marquis de Baye, the Baron de Loë, MM. Boule, Cazalis de Fondouce, Deonna, Pittard, Verneau. As M. Pittard was the President of the Geneva Congress in 1912, he acts as *rapporteur* of this Council, and any proposal of an invitation for the next Congress should be addressed to him at the University of Geneva.

IX.

From Dr. M. Heydrich, of Dresden, comes an advance-copy of an article which should be published in the *Ethnologische Anzeiger*, of which he is one of the editors, reviewing the history of pre-war and post-war congresses, and discussing those alternatives of scope and organization which were set out in MAN. 1930, 63, §II. He recalls favourably the project (much discussed after the International Congress of Americanists in London in 1912) for enlarging the *European* meetings of the Americanist Congress (which occur every fourth year), so as to include topics of general anthropology and ethnology. Such meetings might also offer points of attachment to other Congresses which have large overlapping membership, as well as many American adherents.

X.

In this connexion, it is worth while to reprint (from MAN, 1912, 71 and 103) the essentials of the project of 1912. On 4 June, 1912, an International Conference, convened by Dr. A. P. Maudslay, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, met in London to consider the establishment of an international anthropological congress. The proposal was explained by Dr. R. R. Marett (Oxford) and supported by Dr. A. Kramer (Stuttgart), President of the German Anthropological Society; Dr. L. Capitan (Paris), Anthropological Society of Paris; Dr. E. Waxweiler (Brussels), Director of the Institute Solvay; Dr. F. Heger (Vienna), Dr. Franz Boas (New York), Dr. A. Hrdlička (Washington), Dr. F. Seler (Berlin), Dr. A. L. van Panhuys (The Hague), and C. H. Read (British Museum). A committee was appointed

to communicate with other congresses and societies, and this committee was represented soon after by MM. Capitan, Duckworth, Hrdlička and Marett, at the Geneva session of the *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*. Here, on 14 September, 1912, the following proposition was submitted by the Council to the concluding session of the *Congrès*, and carried *nem con* :—

Ayant été informé officiellement de la prochaine fondation d'un nouveau congrès devant s'occuper particulièrement d'ethnographie et d'anthropologie somatique, le conseil et le bureau de la XIV Session du *Congrès d'Anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*, réunie à Genève, propose aux membres du congrès d'émettre le vœu que des relations amicales s'établissent dès à présent entre les deux congrès, afin d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait nuire à l'un ou à l'autre, et qu'au contraire tout soit mis en œuvre pour favoriser leurs intérêts réciproques.

In reporting this very important decision, in MAN, 1912, 103, Dr. Marett described the Council and Bureau of the Geneva Congress as "perfectly ready to welcome the idea of a congress interesting itself primarily in the various aspects of the nature and life of the primitive man of to-day." And there can be no doubt that the same friendly co-operation would be assured to-day in the event of the re-establishment of a Congress, mainly though not exclusively prehistoric, in accordance with the statutes of 1912.

J. L. MYRES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Ruthenia.

Suk.

Anthropological and Medical Notes on the Peoples of the Subcarpathian Highlands (Carpathian Ruthenia). *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor V. Suk, Masaryk University, Brno, Czechoslovakia: 14th April, 1931.* 95

These notes are the outcome of two summers spent amongst the Ruthenes of Subcarpathian Russia, a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. They describe (1) the country, origin and neighbours, mountains, forests, etc.; (2) the people, physical and medical; (3) the costumes, the daily life, the main features of ethnic pathology; (4) face casts of the main types and of some of the pathologic cases (cretins, etc.).

Subcarpathian Russia, or Carpathian Ruthenia, is since 1920 a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. The neighbouring countries are in the north Poland, east Rumania, south Hungary, west Slovakia, a part of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Slavonic population of the so-called Highlands came from the East through the passes of the Carpathian Mountains and, penetrating little by little southward, inhabit the higher valleys since about the eighth century of the Christian Era. Their general status is primitive. Anthropologically and linguistically they are to a great extent connected with the Eastern Slavs of south-eastern Poland and Ukraine. Their language is a dialect of Little Russian. With regard to their features two distinct groups were observed.

The Huculs (pronounced Hootsools) occupy the extreme East of the country east of the "Highlanders" proper. The Huculs are physically and also culturally the finest. In features they are very dark, with rather tawny skin, dark brown hair, eyes sometimes brown also, yet in many instances the eyes are hazel, green-brown and even blue or green blue. Their stature is high, the size of men being not rarely six feet. Their head is brachycephalic; and dinaric features, with a long straight or convex nose, are not rare, yet often with light eyes. They are on the whole very healthy, tuberculosis being comparatively rare. Yet the ordinary

goitre is very common. Their status of civilization is much higher than that of the other "Highlanders," their national costumes very picturesque and rich.

West of them are the "Highlanders" proper, in every way much poorer, their costumes much simpler and less elaborate, their general status much lower and their physical traits different. Their language is practically the same as that of the Huculs, yet with many dialectic distinctions. Whereas amongst the Huculs fine faces are not rare, here amongst the "Highlanders" the faces are quite different, also the stature and complexion. The skin is lighter and many times with a slight yellowish tinge, the hair brown, the eyes brown, green brown and also blue, yet blue eyes generally in connection with brown hair of light shades. The stature is lower than that of the Huculs; dinaric faces are almost unknown; on the other hand, faces resembling those of the Laplanders with green brown or brown eyes and brown hair are common, the nose being shorter, concave and with a broad tip somewhat turned upwards. Tuberculosis is not rare, the percentage of children who responded to the tuberculin tests, twice as high as amongst the Huculs. Goitre is extremely common, in fact adult persons without a goitre are very rare, almost each child has already an enlarged thyroid and in some instances the growth is excessive. In several villages typical cretins, with endemic cretinism, have been met with, not only amongst the Ruthenians but also amongst the Jews living in the same villages.

The details of this inquiry illustrate difficulties in distinguishing the different races in Europe and some aspects of ethnic pathology.

India.

Codrington.

India Research Committee: Report for the Session 1929-1930.

96

Submitted by the Secretary, K. de B. Codrington.

Ten full meetings of the India Research Committee have been held, as well as a number of sub-committee meetings and informal conferences. The special Indian number of MAN, in October, 1930, was devoted to the committee's researches in Southern Indian archaeology, with special reference to the culture of the cairn- and urn-burials. Contributions have been received to the committee's *Corpus of Indian Beads*. All the examples of cairn- and urn-burial pottery in London Museums are now registered and drawn for the *Corpus of Indian Pottery*. In view of Messrs. Burkitt and Cammiade's joint-paper on Indian palæoliths in *Antiquity*, the committee has considered this important problem. The committee has assisted scholars and public bodies by answering various questions, and has advised students working in the University of London for the B.A. and M.A. degrees in Indian archaeology.

The membership of the committee has been reorganized. The committee welcome the co-operation of Prof. E. G. Rapson, Prof. Foucher, and Dr. Berthold Laufer, and thanks the following co-opted members: Mr. Horace Beck, Dr. Plenderleith, Mr. J. Allen, and Mr. L. A. Cammiade for their help, and Mr. Cammiade, Dr. E. H. Hunt, Mr. Oldham, and Mr. T. B. Nayar for their contributions.

K. DE B. CODRINGTON

REVIEWS.

Africa, South.

Schapera.

The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa. By I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D. **97**
London: George Routledge & Sons. 1930.
Pp. xi+445. 16 plates and 2 maps. 31s. 6d.

This is the first volume of a series designed, so the editors (Mr. J. H. Driberg

and Dr. Schapera) inform us in their preface, to provide in a scientific manner a comprehensive survey of what is at present known about the racial characters, cultures and languages of the native peoples of Africa. If all the volumes reach the standard set by Dr. Schapera the series

will be of great value. His book incorporates the thesis accepted by the University of London for his doctorate. The term Khoisan here adopted was coined by L. Schultze from *Khoi-khoi*, the Hottentots' name for themselves, and *San*, the name given by Hottentots to Bushmen. It is convenient to have this common designation, for the two peoples are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct from other inhabitants of South Africa that Hottentots and Bushmen must be regarded as very closely allied in race. Dr. Schapera discusses the relation between them and concludes that Hottentots are people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. Against Dr. Shrubbsall, who maintained that the modifying blood must have been Bantu, Dr. Schapera argues, on what seem conclusive grounds, for an Hamitic element. "It seems reasonable to assume," he writes, "that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having predominantly Hamitic culture." No possibility of racial identity of Bushman and Pygmy is admitted: "There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro . . . But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which have specialized along different lines." It is suggested that the Bushmen came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. Other peoples were in occupation before they arrived. "Strandlooper" is a term that should be abandoned, Dr. Schapera thinks, for these coast-rangers whose kitchen middens have been found were merely Bushmen or a mixture of Bushmen with people of the Boskop type. The latter cannot be regarded as intimately related to the Bushmen.

The author has some personal acquaintance with the Khoisan and once at least draws on his own experience, but his work is frankly a compilation. He has evidently mastered all the relevant literature named in the full bibliography. Much of the material is scattered in books and journals which are inaccessible to most of us, and some of it is in Dutch, which not everybody reads. It is useful to have all this information collected in a handy form. Dr. Schapera is, however, no mere recorder of other men's observations and opinions; he weighs them critically and his judgments appear to be sound. This is seen, for example, in his

treatment of Kolb, who is taken as a principal authority on the Cape Hottentots. He will not always accept Kolb's testimony—Kolb's description of the use of oxen as sheep-dogs, for example, is beyond his credence. Dr. Schapera often weaves into one the accounts given by different observers, carefully noting disagreements and lacunæ.

Part I is occupied with Ethno-geography, a careful description of the environment being followed by a statement of the history, distribution and tribal divisions of both peoples; their physical characters are enumerated, their dress and decoration and their mutilations of the body. Part 2 is given to the culture of the Bushmen, their social organization, social habits and customs, economic and political life, religion and magic, art and knowledge, being successively described. Part 3 is devoted to the culture of the Hottentots along the same lines. Part 4 contains a brief but illuminating study of the languages. I have particularly admired the clarity of exposition shown in the chapters on religion and magic. The comparative note, in the form of an appendix to chapter xiii, on Bushmen and Hottentot religion, is a welcome feature. His conclusion may be quoted: "As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots."

Dr. Schapera is dealing in this book with peoples whose institutions have passed, or are passing, away, and whose numbers have diminished greatly. Of the Bushmen not more than 7,500 survive, he thinks; as for the Hottentots there may be 70,000, but they are so mixed and the Census takes so little pains to distinguish them from "Other Coloured" that it is impossible to be certain. "Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a disappearing people . . . Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also

"steadily giving way to Afrikaans." Some indication is given of the way in which the institutions of the surviving tribes have been modified: we should have welcomed fuller and more precise details on this subject.

E. W. S.

America, Central: Ethnology. Thompson. *Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras.* By J. Eric Thompson. Field Museum of Natural History Publication, 274. Chicago. 187 pp., 24 plates. **98**

Although a very large amount of work has been done upon the Maya inscriptions, the investigation of the living Maya peoples has been comparatively neglected until lately. The present book must be reckoned in the front rank of such work. Mr. Thompson was peculiarly fitted to undertake the task from his knowledge of the ancient Maya and his sympathetic attitude towards the Indians, and the result is noteworthy, though it is sad to think as he says in his preface that much more would have been obtained if the work had only been done twenty years earlier.

There is a useful account of the present divisions of the Indians and their probable connection with those existing in the sixteenth century, and the present-day material culture is fully described. But the most important feature of the book is that it shows how much of the ancient Maya religion has survived up to the present, or at all events to the very recent past, in spite of persecution. Very full and valuable details are given both as to beliefs and ritual, also texts and translations of prayers. Many folk tales are translated, some of which show resemblances to incidents in the Popol Vuh. It is strange to find also tales like negro Uncle Remus stories, though the author considers that there has been no negro influence.

Some information is furnished as to kinship terms, but this is not as satisfactory as the rest of the book, as the unfortunate practice is adopted of merely giving English relationship terms without specifying exactly what relatives are meant—a pitfall into which those who have not made a special study of kinship terminology are apt to fall, with resulting ambiguity.

The author emphasizes one point with which the present reviewer heartily agrees, namely, that the Maya country was always largely covered with forest and never had a very large population. Another interesting point is that the Kekchi speakers tend to absorb the Maya speakers as they have already almost entirely absorbed the speakers of Chol, which latter language was spoken in a considerable part of the Old

Empire area at the time of the Spanish conquest.

The plates are good and the numerous portraits of natives are especially interesting. It is to be hoped that Mr. Thompson will continue his good work and give us more studies of this kind, which are urgently needed.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

Mesopotamia.

Speiser.

Mesopotamian Origins. By E. A. Speiser. Philadelphia. Univ. Pennsylvania Press, 1930. Pp. 196. Price 12s. 6d. **99**

Speiser seeks to establish the existence in the highland region north and northeast of the Tigris-Euphrates valleys of two series of linguistically interrelated peoples whom he proposes to term Japhetites, using the term in a more restricted sense than Professor Marr. To the first or Zagros group would belong the Elamites, Lullu and Gutí. They would be mainly responsible for the First Prediluvian culture (which he prefers to call First Aeneolithic). He is at pains to demonstrate an Elamite substratum in the toponymy of Mesopotamia, instancing the *-ak* and *-r* terminations of the prediluvian seats of royalty, Larak, Shuruppak and Zimbar. (Sippar). He cites phonetic peculiarities of one early Sumerian dialect as evidence for the survival of the same Elamite stratum under Sumerian domination, principally in Akkad. In dealing with the Gutí and Lullu the author is handicapped by the paucity of material, but his trenchant criticism of the current doctrine that the Gutí were blonde is salutary and should be carefully read by all anthropologists.

The chief representative of the second Japhetite group is the Hurrian, a people roughly equivalent to the Subaraeans of other writers. These are responsible for the Jemdet Nasr-Susa II cultures and are traceable in Akkad in the names of two kings of the First Dynasty of Kish. Both branches of the Japhetite family would accordingly have contributed substantially to the foundation of civilization in Mesopotamia.

Mesopotamian archaeology is transformed by revolutionary discoveries so rapidly that every year witnesses the overthrow of some long-established dogma like the priority of plano-convex bricks. Though Speiser dates his preface July 1930, he was evidently still unaware of the results of last winter's campaigns at Ur and Uruk. He has thus some excuse for asserting that the Second Prediluvian culture was confined to northern Mesopotamia, and even for accepting Christian's view that Jemdet Nasr was relatively late and contemporary with more normal Sumerian remains in Sumer. Both notions having been disposed of, our author's correlations between archaeological and linguistic data look much less neat.

V. G. CHILDE.

Greece: Physical.

Fürst.

On the Anthropology of the Prehistoric Greeks in Argolis. By Carl M. Fürst. **100**
(Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Ård. 2 Bd. 26)

Nr 8). Lund and Leipzig. 1930. (In German).

It is singularly unfortunate that the climate of Greece is such that we can never hope to be able to study the ethnology of that land in the same thorough way as it is possible to do in Egypt. The paucity of remains and their broken condition has led anthropologists to neglect Greece. Dr. Fürst's contribution is therefore most welcome. It is an extremely clear and detailed report of finds belonging to the Middle and Late Helladic periods, and one or two of later date, excavated at Asine, at Kalkani, in the Argive Heraeum, and elsewhere. A number of the skulls are beautifully reproduced in collotype in the facial, lateral, vertical, and occipital norms. With the number of specimens at his disposal—they amount to less than fifty and are much broken—it seems a pity that Dr. Fürst has attempted to do more than description, and the grouping together of male and female skulls is entirely unjustified. Naturally we all want conclusions; but, when the material is scanty, it would appear to be a sounder policy to publish observations and measurements, and not to attempt any form of tabulation until a sufficient number has been obtained to justify such tabulations. Dr. Fürst himself states in his summary that his work must be for the future. All of us who are engaged in studying Greek material will be grateful to him, and hope that at a later date he himself will be able to add further specimens to those which he has now published. L.H.D.B.

Sterilization.

Kankeleit.

Die Unfruchtbarmachung aus rassen-hygienischen und sozialen Gründen. Von Dr. Otto Kankeleit. München: (Lehmann), 1929. Pp. 112. With 7 illustrations and 10 plates. Mk. 5.50.

This little book discusses the problem of sterilization which is now exciting much interest among eugenicists. The question of degeneracy has for many years occupied the attention of the author and in the present work he reviews the position both in Europe and the United States. Although he appreciates the value of sterilization in certain cases the author is opposed to its wholesale adoption and prefers to wait until our knowledge of heredity is further advanced.

E. J. DINGWALL.

Ancient Athletics.

Gardiner.

Athletics of the Ancient World. By E. Norman Gardiner, D.Litt. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1930. Pp. x + 246; 214 illustrations. Price 28s.

The late Dr. Gardiner was for nearly a quarter of a century the leading British authority on the athletics of classical antiquity. The present book is at once an enlargement and an abridgement of his standard work, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (Macmillan, 1910). It omits as much as is possible of the technical discussions—all could not be omitted without conveying to the reader a false impression of certainty on many points which are doubtful—and says little of the history of the great festivals at Olympia and other centres; but it greatly increases the number

and size of illustrations, both from ancient art and from modern photographs and statues of athletes. Among the accessions are naturally some monuments which have been discovered since 1910, notably the famous "hockey" and "football" reliefs from the Themistoklean wall. The printer has done his part to make the book handsome and accurate; the reviewer has noted but two slips of press or pen, "Athenaeas" for "Athen-aeus," on p. 42, note 1, and "straightened" for "straitened" on p. 116, line 7 from the bottom. In the text there has been added to the contents of the former work an interesting excursus (pp. 4-17) on athletics in Egypt and in the Far East. This and several incidental references to non-European sports suggest the question whether some anthropologist with a first-hand knowledge of modern British or American athletics and the requisite equipment of information could not profitably give us a companion volume on the games and exercises of savage and barbarian peoples. Such speculations as those casually made by Dr. Gardiner on pp. 13, 17 and 173 concerning the origin of several "events" deserve to be enlarged and, if necessary, corrected.

The non-classical reader may consult this work with confidence, for it contains much sound fact and sober deduction; its theories are given as such, and the absence of dogmatism is equally commendable with the unpedantic and readable style. Clear accounts are given of every important form of outdoor sport, save hunting, which is known to have been in favour in Greece or Italy, and excellent documentary evidence from art is furnished. The references to texts are designedly few; those that are given might with advantage have been made more exact, since to be told that Africanus or Plutarch says thus and so makes it difficult to check the statement if the reader wants more information, without indication of the precise passage in question.

I point out three slips, trivial in themselves, but in two cases invalidating a small portion of the argument. P. 22, line 4 from bottom, for "cup" read "mule"—one Homeric prize has been confused with another mentioned in the same passage. P. 234, a difficult description of a ball game is cited from Apollinaris Sidonius, *epistles* V, 17, 7. In this occur the words *medis currentis*, which Dr. Gardiner renders "mid-runner," and seems to take for the technical name of one of the players, like our "centre-half," etc. But it simply means "one running between" (two of the spectators, probably), and throws no light on how the players were arranged. P. 237, he would follow Oikonomos in retaining the verb *κεπητ(ε)ν* in pseudo-Plutarch, *vitae X oratorum*, p. 839 C, interpreting it as meaning "to play with a horn-shaped instrument," a sort of hockey stick. But Greek does not say *κεπητ(ε)ν*, but *κεπατ(ε)ν*, and the verb always means "to butt"; the text of the MSS. is therefore unsound and the easiest emendation is that of Turnebus, who alters the ρ to λ , getting a legitimate word signifying "to ride on horseback." When the book reaches the second edition it deserves, whoever edits it might rid it of these small blemishes. H. J. ROSE.

pit in Casterley Camp. The tool was found resting on a shelf cut into the wall of the pit. The condition of the flint shows that it had been only recently worked when it was buried. Those two circumstances justify the view that the tool is of the same period as the pit itself. Otherwise it would be necessary to believe that the tool, by some means unexplained, was adroitly manœuvred on to the shelf of an Iron Age dwelling, having been previously excluded from the air, and from changes of temperature, to such a degree that it retained the characteristics of newly worked flint. It could certainly not have lain on, or near, the surface for any length of time. It seems, therefore, probable that it is in fact an Iron Age product. This being so I fail to see that my "generalization" was more "unwarrantable" than Mr. Clark's assumption.

M. E. CUNNINGTON.

Couvade.

Brelsford.

Examples from British Midlands.

SIR,—The custom of asserting that a certain minor illness experienced by a man during his wife's pregnancy is due to that cause, is very prevalent in the Midland Counties; especially in the coal-mining areas.

"Toothache" and "general debility" are usually attributed to this cause by the women. If the wife appears to experience good health during this period, and the husband is off work through illness, the favourite expression used is "he is carrying the youngster." If the man is pale and thin at this period, the expression used is "he looks like a hanged hare."

The three reasons given in MAN, 1931, 59, do not apply in the cases which have come under my notice.

Hollydene, Brimington,
Chesterfield.

V. BRELSFORD.

Cyprus.

Mann.

The Cypriote Threshing Sledge.

SIR,—May I supplement Mr. Hornell's interesting note, MAN, 1930, 112, by drawing attention to an illustrated paper on this subject read by me in 1904, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (*Proc. S.A. Scot.*, XXXVIII, pp. 506-519)?

Two archaic yet perfect examples of the Turkish 'duyen' I discovered in the attic of a farmstead at Tcharpinti in the hinterland of Cavalla, and these I presented to the Scottish National Museum.

Their teeth are of flint, and the method of knapping them and fitting them into position is detailed in my note, which also gives a rather full historical account of those curious survivals of the classical *tribula*.

As a warning to collectors of stone implements, I may mention that these teeth, which often become detached and lost in the material under trituration, are occasionally imported to Britain by accident.

An assemblage of such teeth was recently found, thrown out from a mill at Stranraer, Wigtonshire.

LUDOVIC McL. MANN.
4, Lynedoch Crescent, Glasgow.

Language.

Amsbury.

"Shouting" and "Non-shouting" Languages.

To the Editor of MAN.

109

SIR,—Lord Raglan's correlation (MAN, 1929, 131, cf. 1931, 55) of "shouting" languages with hill-country, and "non-shouting" languages with lowland, does not work in California where the correlation is with language-stocks. The Penutian languages (which are "shouting") have expanded from a low marshy region, whence some have gone into the mountains. On the other hand, Hekan languages are found in the mountains in localities north, east, south-west, and west of the Penutians, and are distinctly "non-shouting." In a marshy basin north-east of the northern Hekan group is another Penutian language.

CLIFTON H. AMSBURY.
Berkeley, California.

Religion.

Hocart.

Consecration and Prosperity.

110

SIR,—Mr. G. D. Hornblower has done well in reminding us in the course of his interesting lecture on March 24th (MAN, 1931) that the ritual of the king was not pure pageantry or adulation, but was devised for the very practical purpose of ensuring prosperity. He referred once more to Homer's description of a good king (Od. xix, 109ff.). That reminds me of a passage I recently disinterred in my unpublished materials. It might almost be a Fijian prose paraphrase of that famous passage. Before the Lord of the Reef (*Tui Dhakau*) drinks his installation kava the herald (the term is convenient, but he is really priest to the chief) prays: "The offering of the chiefly kava, that you may live, you noble youths. Let the fields boom (*ndunu*: with the noise of men?), the land boom. Exalted (?) be the Father and Son whom we worship. Let the fish come to land; let the fruit trees bear; let the land flourish. May you all live (*mbula*: to live, be in good health). Let the work of God grow. May our land be blest (*kalounata*: lit. 'having efficacious spirits': *nata* is more or less synonymous with *mana* (see my *Mana*, MAN, 1914, 46)). May our soil be blest." Though the prayer is christianized, it was said to be spoken "in order that the spirits in the Underworld (*mbulu*: the grave, Hades) may take notice." The prayer cannot be explained away by poetic licence. In Kandavu Island it was stated that for every consecration there is a fish that appears; it is caught and eaten at the feast which concludes the consecration. This fish is called the "fish of the cloth," because the chief is identified with the consecration cloth, and so called "the cloth." For one chief the fish was the *saiga*; but if he was a "good cloth," all the fish that are caught in nets would come in. For one chief the "fish of the cloth" was the snake, and if it was a "good cloth" heaps of snakes and other fish were caught. I was told in one village that at one consecration a whale was stranded! The implication was it must have been a mighty "good cloth." A "good cloth" is not a virtuous man, but a lucky chief.

A. M. HOCART.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

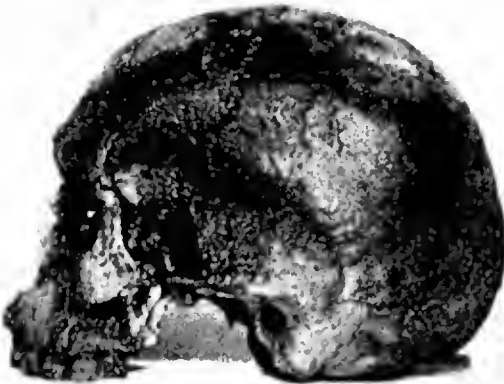


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

SKULL OF AN ABORIGINAL TASMANIAN.

All photographs are approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ scale.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 111-130.

JUNE, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Tasmania.

With Plate F.

Rigg.

Notes on an Incomplete Tasmanian Aboriginal Skeleton. By

Gilbert Rigg, Melbourne.

111

ORIGIN OF THE SPECIMEN.—The bones here described were handed to me by my friend Mr. J. F. Jones, of Burnie, Tasmania. Mr. Jones is a keen student of aboriginal remains, especially in North-Western and Western Tasmania, and is actively carrying out researches on that difficult coast at the present time. His statement to me as to how the bones came into his possession I quote as follows:—

“ You asked about the spot in which the bones contained in the box were found. I did not see the finder who is a bushman and—in the season—a trapper. He was hunting in the mountains at the head of the Mersey which, rising near the centre of the Island, enters Bass Straits at Devonport. He went to examine a rock projecting from a low cliff and saw that the bones, which he had already noted several years earlier and had disregarded as being the bones of a calf or other beast, were human. On his return he packed them and reported their discovery to the police. He thought that they might be the remains of some lost white man of whom many have been bushed and never heard of again. As the bones were found in a shelter where there was no indication of white man's clothing, tools, etc., the constable considered that the bones were those of an aboriginal and told the hunter to do as he liked with them.” I received the bones from Mr. Jones on January 1st, 1928.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION. The parts of the skeleton found were:—

(1) *The Skull*.—This lacks the lower jaw and the incisors and canines of the upper jaw. The molars and premolars are intact except the first premolar on the left side which is split in two, probably during life. The bones show considerable weathering and are stained light to dark brown. The zygomatic arches are eaten through by weathering. (2) *Vertebrae*.—The atlas is present and six dorsal and lumbar vertebrae. The sacrum is missing. (3) *Ribs*.—Only three of these are present. (4) *Scapula*.—Only one scapula is present, the left one. (5) *Humerus*.—One present, the right one. (6) *Pelvis*.—Only one-half is present, the right half, the wing of the ilium is eaten through by weathering. (7) *Femora*.—Both are present, the heads being badly corroded by weathering. (8) *Tibia*.—Only one is present, the right one.

The specimen is apparently a male, judging from the pelvis. The teeth are greatly worn on the crowns, so that it would appear that he was not a young man. The sutures of the skull are unclosed. He was probably under middle age when he died. The teeth show no sign of caries, but an abscess has corroded the roots of the first and second molars on the right side and eaten well into the jaw. The severe wear on the teeth is partly due to the nature of the food, which included a large proportion of shell-fish, and the sand in which they occur doubtless found its way into the food.

The skull is illustrated by the following photographs :

- Fig. 1. Face view of skull ($\frac{1}{3}$ nat. size). Fig. 2. Vertex view $\frac{1}{3}$ nat. size).
 Fig. 3. Profile of skull ($\frac{1}{3}$ nat. size). Fig. 4. Occipital view ($\frac{1}{3}$ nat. size).
 Fig. 5. Palate and teeth ($\frac{1}{3}$ nat. size).

The lambdoid suture (Fig. 4) is interrupted on the left side at a point 33 mm. from its intersection with the sagittal suture by a small bone of roughly quadrate shape and measuring approximately 19 mm. by 14 mm., the long axis being vertical. On the right side a similar but smaller bone occurs at a point also 33 mm. from the intersection and measuring approximately 10 mm. by 7 mm.

Further outwards along the occipital suture two more small bones can be seen in Fig. 4. That on the left is wedge-shaped and that on the right quadrate. The latter measures approximately 14×14 mm., the former somewhat less. On the right side a small bone interrupts the temporal suture immediately above the mastoid process. This is absent from the left side (Fig. 3). On both sides of the skull occurs an epipteric bone between the anterior end of the temporal bone below and the parietal and frontal bones above, and overlapping the sphenoid (Fig. 3).

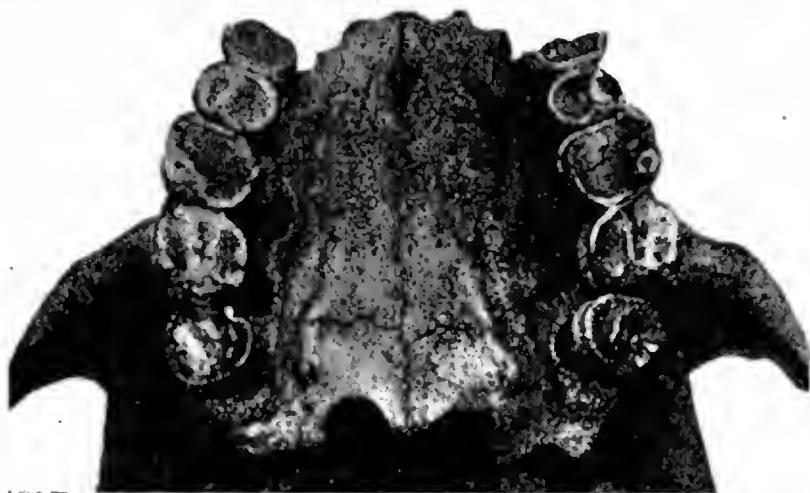


FIG 5.—TASMANIAN SKULL: PALATE AND TEETH: $\frac{1}{3}$ SCALE.

These bones are symmetrical on the two sides of the skull, although the separation of the temporal bone on the left side is greater than on the right; the maximum separation being 3 mm. in the former and 2 mm. in the latter. The zygomatic arches are corroded through (Fig. 3). The left mastoid process is much corroded and the internal structure exposed. The right process is well preserved. In the left parietal bone, 1 mm. to the left of the sagittal suture and 35 mm. from the lambda, is a circular parietal foramen, about 1.5 mm. in diameter (Fig. 2). The vertex of the skull is flattened on both sides of the sagittal suture, being actually slightly concave, as shown in Fig. 4.

Measurements of Skull.—I have added, for the sake of comparison, figures for an average English male skull as given in Sir Arthur Keith's *The Antiquity of Man*, page 9 *et seq.*

		<i>Specimen skull.</i>	<i>English skull.</i>
Max. length glabella to occiput	- - - -	185.5 mm.	190 mm.
„ width across parietal bones	- - - -	135 „	140 „
„ „ „ temporal lines	- - - -	94 „	97.5 mm.

		Specimen skull.	English skull.
Max. width across outer ends brow ridges	- -	103 mm.	—
" " " zygomata	- -	134 "	131 mm.
Height above centres of earholes	- -	116 "	115 "
Length of upper face, nasion to gnathion	- -	61 "	70 "
Cephalic index	- -	72.8 "	73.7 mm.

The cranial capacity has been determined in two ways. By applying Lee and Pearson's formula (see Sir A. Keith, *The Antiquity of Man*, 2nd edition, p. 596) we have the following figures: $18.55 \times 13.5 \times 11.6 \times 0.4 + 206 = 1,368$ cc. This formula, however, applies to European skulls, and might therefore give too high a result if the specimen skull were thicker than the European. The result was checked, therefore, by filling the skull with shot and measuring the volume of the shot. This method gave a figure of 1,340 ccs., which checks well with Sir Arthur Keith's figure of 1,350 ccs. (loc. cit., p. 216). The skull weighs 650 grams.

Palate and Teeth (Fig. 5).—The measurements of palate and teeth and the palato-cerebral ratio has been compared with data given by Sir Arthur Keith (loc. cit. Vol. 1, pp. 147 and 214).

The following figures were obtained: Width across outer borders of second molars, 69.8 mm. Length from posterior border of third molar to anterior border of first premolar, 51 mm. measured along centre line of teeth. The total length of the palate from a line drawn touching the posterior borders of the third molars to the outer edges of the median incisors, in Keith's example is 65 mm. The corresponding figure for the present specimen cannot be obtained by direct measurement as the incisors are absent. By following the same contour as shown in Keith's drawing (loc. cit. p. 214) from the outer borders of the first premolars to indicate the position of the missing teeth, we arrive at a length of 63.3 mm. or 1.7 mm. shorter than Keith's. This of course is approximate, but cannot be far from the truth.

The palatal area works out at 36.1 cm². Comparing this with Keith's figure for an average Englishman of 25 cm², the aboriginal origin of the specimen receives strong confirmation. Taking the cerebral volume as measured by the shot method, we have for the palato-cerebral ratio $\frac{1340}{36.1} = 37.2$ as compared with that of a modern Englishman of $\frac{1480}{25} = 59$ (loc. cit. p. 216).

The dimensions of the teeth in millimetres are as follows (see Fig. 5).

	Right.		Left.	
	Length.	Width.	Length.	Width.
3rd Molar	11.0	11.8	10.2	12.0
2nd "	11.6	14.0	11.2	13.0
1st "	11.0	13.9	11.2	13.0
2nd Premolar	8.5	11.9	8.8	11.5
1st "	7.5	11.0	broken	11.5
Total	49.6	—	—	61.0

These measurements bring out the great size of the teeth which is characteristic of Tasmanian aboriginals.

(2) *Bones of the leg*.—The femora are much corroded especially about the heads as can be seen from the femur submitted.

<i>Measurements of femora in millimetres—</i>				<i>Left.</i>	<i>Right.</i>
Upper surface head to internal condyle	-	-	-	485	476
Trochanter major to external condyle	-	-	-	465	broken
Circumference one-third length below head	-	-	-	87	84

Only the left tibia is present. It measures 375 mm. from upper surface to interior lower surface.

GILBERT RIGG.

Physical Anthropology.

Tildesley.

Bones and the Excavator. *By Miss M. L. Tildesley, Royal College of Surgeons' Museum.* **112**

Human bones, to the archæological excavator, are merely of interest as indicating a grave: his real concern is with the objects accompanying the burial, and with any circumstances that may throw light upon the arts and customs of a given people at a given period. To the physical anthropologist, on the other hand, bones are the raw material of his studies of the past, which are concentrated upon the physical characteristics and relationships of the different peoples at different periods. These two branches of research, however, are linked together in several ways, of which one is the fact that graves are quarries for them both; and since it is more often the archæologist that does the quarrying, I would like to put before him a short explanation of the anthropologist's needs.

Sometimes—perhaps more often still—it is neither archæologist nor anthropologist that uncovers a burial, but a layman. He may be still in the stage of thinking that there are only two alternatives to be considered, whether (1) to cover up the bones and save trouble, or (2) to send for the police, and then, if they prove uninterested, to get the burial service read over the bones and re-inter them. But if another alternative occurs to him, it may be that human bones are of interest to the anthropologist, and ought to be put in a museum: whereupon he good-naturedly collects them and brings them along, destroying most of the evidence for dating that the undisturbed grave contained. In case the following notes should catch the eye of some man of goodwill whose uninformed anxiety to be helpful may defeat its own ends, some explanations are offered that are superfluous as regards the majority of the readers of this journal, together with explanations that are directly addressed to the archæologist.

Human remains representative of the successive populations of all parts of the earth are needed for the study of racial relationships; but the first duty of anthropologists in this respect is to see that at any rate all available skeletal material from the different periods in their own country's history is preserved. In spite of the numerous burial sites of all periods that have been excavated in our country during the last century, there is still very inadequate material available for the determination of the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of England at different periods.* This is partly due to the fact that the value of the associated human remains has often not been recognized, so that they have not been preserved with the same care as the artefacts found with them, and have indeed often been re-interred elsewhere or otherwise disposed of. Where they have been kept they may have become so damaged by unskilful extraction that only very incomplete specimens, or some so broken that they cannot be restored with accuracy, are available for study. Again in some cases where they have been preserved, it has not been recognized that their value lies in what they are able to tell of the physical characteristics of a given race at a given period, and that their value depends, therefore, on the detail and adequacy of the archæological evidence by which their race and period may be determined.

* Seventeenth-century Londoners are well represented; but they are an exception.

The archæological evidence for dating human remains will, of course, vary greatly in kind and quantity, not only in different countries and at different epochs, but often also in different individual graves. We may here note, however, the main lines along which it is to be sought. The competent field archæologist will examine the stratification of the site and determine whether the deposition of the human remains was contemporary with the laying down of the stratum in which they were found; or whether they were intruded into it from a later land-surface (and if so, from which), taking photographic records of the section if possible. Unless they reached it from the existing land-surface, he will assemble the geological, faunal and archæological evidence for dating the different strata—a class of evidence in which the part played by Man is as unconscious, as undeliberate, as that played by Nature.

Of more direct interest to the archæologist is evidence of man's deliberate acts in the disposal of his dead; which often, incidentally, reveals the kind of provision he makes for living wants too. This class of evidence is also of great interest to the physical anthropologist, for many, sometimes all, of these same acts will be regulated by prevailing custom; and as our knowledge of customs grows, such evidence can be used increasingly to identify the period at which human remains were deposited, and the cultural group whose customs determined the manner of disposal. All evidence under this heading should therefore be carefully noted, even although it may not appear at the time to throw light upon period. Should one find in disinterring a group of burials of one period that the methods of disposal differ in detail, the details are still worth recording: thus, if records of orientation for a group of graves shewed clearly that no one point of the compass was more favoured than another, that would of itself rule out the possibility of assigning them to a people which adhered to, or even preferred, a given orientation for their dead.

The following are some of the main heads under which archæological evidence on disposal of the dead may be classified:—

(1) Treatment of body, *e.g.*, interment intact or mutilated, embalmed or otherwise; cremation, or partial cremation; disposal in two stages (for example, exposure of corpse, and subsequent preservation of bones, or some of them, in barrow, in jar, as family relics, etc.).

(2) Site chosen, *e.g.*, cave, tree, shell-mound, previously-existing barrow or earthworks, neighbourhood of Christian church, etc.

(3) Type of tomb, *e.g.*, simple grave (shape, dimensions, orientation should be recorded); whether slab-lined, block-lined, decorated, etc.; pit and chamber; remains deposited on surface and covered with stones, etc. (*see* No. 10).

(4) Receptacle for remains, *e.g.*, cremation urn, stone coffin, wood coffin (represented by coffin nails), jar, inverted basket, etc.

(5) Posture, *e.g.*, extended on back; on side with knees bent (give approximate angle of thigh-bones to spinal column, and to shin bones). Record position of arms and hands; whether head is raised; and, if so, on pillow of earth, stone, ferns, etc.

(6) Orientation, *e.g.*, head west, face towards Mecca, trunk parallel to local reach of River Nile, etc. Records should be by points of compass unless it is already known that some such geographical feature determined the direction.

(7) Clothing, as represented by buckles, brooches, hob-nails, possibly shroud-pin, etc.

(8) Grave furniture, such as pots, flints, arrows, toilet accessories, food (represented by shells, animal bones, etc.), beads, knives, skull trophies, etc., together with exact position of each in relation to remains of body.

(9) Any special filling of grave, *e.g.*, red powder or white chalk over body; sherds and flints; stones specially placed on top of or around the remains; white pebbles in or on graves; any distinct layers of filling.

(10) Type of erection over remains: cairn, barrow, megalith, mastaba, etc.

(11) In multiple burials, evidence as to whether the interments took place together or at different times, with details of relative positions, levels, etc., of bodies.

(12) In the case of a sepulchre, evidence of re-using by a later generation than that which made it.

Any of the above data may represent established custom and serve to identify the period and group to which the human remains belong. Given sufficient skeletal material to determine the prevailing physical characteristics at different periods, physical anthropology in its turn is able to make some contribution to the evidence for dating other burial sites, and thus assist the archaeologist. But the reliability of its contribution must depend on the extent to which it is well based, and this again on the amount of well-dated material that is available, and its completeness. The archaeologist frequently makes the mistake of preserving only the larger portions of the pelvis, for example, and leaving behind the symphyseal fragments which are necessary to complete the pelvic opening. It is better to collect all fragments and let the anthropologist himself reject what is not worth keeping.

"Assisting the archaeologist" is however only a sideline of anthropology. What is more important is to have material by which the changes that have taken place and are taking place in our and other populations can be studied. Some changes are due to invasion and infusion, but others may be due to changing habits, to the greater achievements of medical science (which incidentally preserves a greater proportion of the physically unfit and thereby enables them to take a greater part in producing the next generation) and to other factors. Given a very much greater amount of skeletal material than we have available, it would be possible to test many hypotheses and speculations that at present must remain as such. It may be a future generation of scientists that will be able to do the testing, but whether for us or for them, it is our business to gather together the data.

The uniformity that often exists in series of human artefacts is never found in the physical proportions of a group of individuals, however "pure" their race. Physical anthropology therefore requires not single specimens but series—as long series as possible—in order to establish both the average characteristics and the amount of variability in the populations it studies. Single specimens are of value only as they help to build up a series. For this reason it is important that any series of skeletal remains unearched should be kept intact as a series, and preserved preferably where other series of the same and other periods are available for study. Single specimens should, of course, be similarly deposited where collections are being built up.

And now to give some idea of the numbers that are required: not less than fifty to a hundred specimens of one kind (*e.g.* crania of the same sex, neither immature nor senile) are necessary to provide the material for a study of the group they represent; and if the numbers run up to several hundreds or a thousand so much the better! For we are not interested in the specimens for their own sakes, but for what they can tell us of the physical characteristics (both the prevailing type and the amount of variability) of the whole population they represent, of the given sex and age. The larger the sample obtained for study, the more likely it is to be truly representative, and to give the desired information correctly. The probable errors of the results obtained from it decrease in proportion to the square root of the number in the sample. Thus the information obtained from 100 is likely to be twice as reliable as that from 25; and if you can raise the number to 400 you again double the reliability. When the series is about 100 the anthropometrist feels he is on fairly sure ground if his specimens have not been picked

out in any way, but are likely to be quite "an average lot"; though, of course, he is still happier in founding his conclusions on 400.

Now as to age: it frequently happens that immature skeletons are not preserved because it is thought they are of no use. It is true that adult bones are most likely to be preserved by Nature, and have already been most often preserved subsequently by Man. The evidence that can be furnished by adult bones is therefore likely to reach satisfactory proportions sooner than that from non-adults. The bones of children of the different periods are, however, required for study by some of the visitors to a museum such as that to which I have the honour to be attached; thus the student of dentition, for example, may wish to examine children's jaws of other periods than our own. Again, the excavation of a Lower Palæolithic child's skull of the Neanderthal race by Miss D. A. E. Garrod from a Gibraltar cave in 1926 called for comparative material in the shape of children's skulls at the same stage of dental development, of many different races and periods, and of these a very scanty supply was available.

To sum up, therefore: the archaeologist is respectfully informed that human bones are of scientific value, and "single spies" less so than—I will not say "battalions," but at any rate companies! though it is also true that museum organizations and staffs may sometimes regard the arrival of the latter with mixed sentiments. The non-archæologist is informed that the scientific value of human bones depends upon the completeness of the evidence for race and period—especially for period. Human remains become documents of value only when we can date them—on geological or archæological evidence or both. The greatest service the finder can render is to secure any such find from disturbance until a competent archæologist can investigate the site. If there is no chance of such an investigation being arranged for, it is better to cover up the find and leave it undisturbed, if possible, for some future generation to discover and study.

M. L. TILDESLEY.

Congresses.

Mahr.

Prehistoric and Archæological Congresses. By Dr. Adolf Mahr,
Keeper of Irish Antiquities, National Museum of Ireland.

113

I.

No doubt there is a tendency on the continent (strongly marked, for instance, in certain German quarters), to sever relations between prehistoric archæology and those studies like physical anthropology which "smell Darwinian." Archæology is taken only as a branch of the "historic" studies (which as a whole is perfectly true); and physical anthropology is admitted, sometimes reluctantly, only from this historic standpoint, as a thing which it is not easy to discard or to dispense with. The ill-concealed bankruptcy of metric anthropology works in favour of this tendency which derives its deepest stimulus from what Germans call *Wellanschauung*. A similar phenomenon in Ethnology is W. Schmidt's method, which tries to overcome antiquated ethnography, avoiding the pitfalls of old-fashioned "evolutionism"; it is the same tendency to "historization." In Prehistory it means, "widen the field" of history stratigraphically"; in Ethnology it means, "widen it in space and in time."

But there is another sub-current, working in the same direction, and represented mainly by leading archæological institutes: the boundaries between Classical Archæology and Prehistory are disappearing fast. Men like von Duhn, Karo, Rostovtzeff, Rodenwaldt can claim to be in both. Now classical archæologists are products of a purely historical training. They have little interest in, and sometimes little knowledge of, physical anthropology, ethnology, and the "descent of man." Yet they are leaders in more aspects than one. The real trouble

II.

But, leaving these theoretical considerations, let me express my practical views. We all have sooner or later to decide for ourselves whether, as individuals, we want to remain faithful to the old tripartite unit "Anthropology" (subdivided into Physical Anthropology, Ethnology, Prehistory) or whether we must accept another orientation. Personally, I am brought up as an anthropologist of the old style (*viz.* Prehistory, a fair amount of Ethnology and as much physical Anthropology as I could take up). Getting older, as I am, and being absorbed by museum work to an extent which prevents any real further mental development, I will continue to adhere to that syllabus.

But I am not blind to the fact that within the near future the real development will take place on somewhat different lines. Prehistory will drift further away from non-prehistoric physical anthropology and from old-style ethnology. This is the reason why so many purely prehistoric periodicals flourish. The "Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte" has had to start a purely prehistoric journal, the *Berliner Prähistorischer Zeitschrift*. The "Wiener Prähistorische Gesellschaft" took over a good deal of the prehistoric work of the "Wiener Anthropologische Gesellschaft." So did the "Société Préhistorique Française" from the old general-periodical "*L'Anthropologie*." And the Royal Anthropological Institute tries to keep its *Journal* free from the prehistoric stuff.

On the other hand, Ethnology is apparently in a revolutionary phase which will certainly result in a powerful fresh development. And in a future which may still be far away I think that Prehistory and Ethnology (including European "folk-civilization" or what the Germans call *Volkskunde*), with a good deal of historic archaeology, will merge into one.

But what will then be the function of Physical Anthropology? I believe it will then have contributed all it can towards the methods of "cultural" Anthropology and will become only a *Hilfswissenschaft*, as Geology is to-day. No doubt it will remain an important subject (be it for no other reason than prehistoric skeletons), but only as an *ally*, not as an intrinsic subdivision of our work.

III.

Now to the Congress. A title depends upon the contents. It is essential, therefore, to see what the pre-war Congress actually was. From my card-indexes of four of its Reports I made the following statistics. Although the criteria of subdivision may be controversial in individual cases, on the whole I think the distribution to be correct:—

Congress: Year and Place.	II. 1867. Paris.	VII. 1874. Stockholm.	XI. 1892. Moscow.	XIII. 1906. Monaco.
General communications	2?	1	3	2?
Physical Anthropology A.—General: Methods, Genetics, Evolutionism, Speculations, &c. . .	7	3	10	5
Physical Anthropology B.—Recent humanity . .	1?	1?	6	—
Physical Anthropology C.—Prehistoric man . .	4	2	5	4
Prehistory and Prehistoric Archaeology, sometimes combined with prehistoric anthropology . .	68	59	32	78
Ethnology (<i>Volkskunde</i> was hardly represented at all)	2	0	5	1

There can be no doubt that the old official title ("avec s") is fairly accurate. Physical Anthropology of recent man was practically absent, and the papers dealing with general anthropology were mostly concerned with methods, a matter which can be excluded nowhere where a special aspect of a general matter is discussed.

The name had only one drawback; it implied that *anthropologie* is identical with "Physical Anthropology." When the *Congrès* flourished, before the war, this limitation of the term *anthropologie* to physical anthropology was by no means self-evident. And it is not even now universally accepted—witness the "Royal Anthropological Institute of G. B. & I.," the "Wiener Anthropologische Gesellschaft," the French periodical *L'Anthropologie*, the "Deutsche Anthropologische Gesellschaft" with its annual congresses, all covering the three subjects: (1) Physical Anthropology, (2) Ethnology, and (3) Prehistory, not to speak of the "Institut International d'Anthropologie," which at least aims to cover them all.

This being so, the old official title "avec s" was not quite a misnomer, but the most accurate title would have been "Congrès International de Préhistoire."

If the title "avec s" be retained, it is anticipated (MAN, 1931, 63) that this may weaken the interest taken by the people you enumerate. There might be still another difficulty: supporters of the "Institut International" could say (and with good reason) that they cannot drop the more inclusive programme for the benefit of the revival of a Congress which does not cover the whole field. The consequence may be that the revived Congress is but half-heartedly supported by the English, and unwelcome in certain quarters, while all others may make up their minds simply to watch further development and to participate only as a matter of form.

Although it is easier to revive a congress with its old title unchanged, I think the name must be altered if the revival is to succeed.

The title "sans s" has the advantage that the change is so small that it might pass almost unobserved by many people. But there is again a drawback, the ambiguity of the term *anthropologie*. For some of us, "Anthropology" means the whole group of connected studies; for others it means only "Physical Anthropology" (*A* General *plus* Genetics &c.; *B* Physical Anthropology of the living; *C* Physical Anthropology of extinct man and prehistoric races of mankind generally).

As long as this question remains unsettled, nomenclature will always be unsatisfactory. According to the different interpretations to which the term "Anthropology" is liable, there are the following alternative meanings for the name of the Congress "sans s":—

I.—Physical Anthropology *A, B, C, plus* Prehistory.—In this case Ethnology and Folk-Civilization are deliberately omitted, and have nothing to do at the Congress. The Congress would be an arbitrary fragment of the unit shown in the diagram.

II.—General Anthropology (Physical Anthropology *A, B, C, Ethnology, and* Prehistory), *plus* Prehistory.—This is obviously pleonastic; it would mean co-ordination of a portion with the whole; and Ethnology would be admitted without, however, appearing in the name.

I must say that I would prefer, to such a misnomer, a rather bulky title which enumerates all the three subdivisions. For instance, in the name of the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* the word "*Anthropologie*" may mean either *physische Anthropologie* or all the three anthropological sciences. But that does not matter very much, since *Ethnologie* and *Urgeschichte* are added. They can be taken as co-ordinate to (physical) "Anthropology"; or (if you like) *Anthropologie* in the Berlin title means "general anthropology *plus* physical anthropology"; and it may be said that *Ethnologie* and *Urgeschichte* further explain the tripartite unit.

To sum up: *either* you revive the Congrès as a prehistoric congress "avec s," and then you may as well call it "Congrès International de Préhistoire"; *or* you make a General Congress, but then the title "sans s" is wrong.

IV.

There is, in my opinion, only one way out which would be logical, though life is frequently not logical: Call it "Congrès International d'Anthropologie" and arrange alternately (say each second or third year) a meeting of

(1) Prehistory and Physical Anthropology *A* and *C*;

(2) Ethnology (plus Folk-Civilization) and Physical Anthropology *A* and *B*.

The attendance may be widely different at each class of meetings. What I think you might gain, so, is that the *Institut International d'Anthropologie* may more easily reconcile itself with such an arrangement, because its more comprehensive conception of the contents of anthropology is adopted. And the Royal Anthropological Institute can also not object to that title.

I do not think that you will find another title. The combination of anthropology and prehistory in *one* title is an insuperable difficulty. One might make the combination look less awkward. For instance, "Congrès International d'Anthropologie générale et de Préhistoire"; but that does not remove the real difficulty. Yet this title, with 57 letters, is shorter than the old official title "avec s," which has 62 letters.

A. MAHR.

Customary Law.

van Vollenhoven: Maunier.

A Provisional Bureau for the Study of Exotic Customary Law.

By Professor C. van Vollenhoven of the University of Leyden, and Professor René Maunier of the University of Paris.

114

Half the globe is still under the sway of non-codified Oriental and Tropical Law. The anticipation of the nineteenth century that these law systems were destined to disappear shortly has not been fulfilled, and juridical science acknowledges their importance more and more. Moreover, article 9 of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague (1920), while it guarantees equal respect to the various juridical systems of the world, seems to take this exotic law under its protection as well as European law. The difficulty is to know its tenor, to study its contents without prejudice, and to know who are the persons occupying themselves with it.

By way of a provisional sketch and for practical use, we may distinguish eight systems of exotic law, namely: (a) Oceanic law; (b) Japanese, Chinese, Annamite and Siamese law:—even in case these systems of law should be codified in the modern manner, traditional and popular law would not suddenly disappear; to know it would still remain indispensable for the purpose of applying and interpreting these codes, such as they live in the daily life and as they are embodied in the jurisprudence; (c) Indonesian law (Formosa, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malay Peninsula, etc., the Chams of French Indo-China, Madagascar):—the International Academic Union, founded in 1919, has just evinced its interest in a practical way, by taking up the printing of a provisional dictionary of Indonesian law, which undertaking is subsidized by six nations; (d) the indigenous law of India; (e) the law of Western Asia; (f) the indigenous law of north-western Africa, of Tripoli and of Egypt; (g) the indigenous law of central and south Africa; (h) the law of the indigenous populations of north, central and south America.

In order to facilitate the study of these systems of law, we need to know first the work that has already been done and the various persons (students of law or not, and especially those who live on the spot) on whose collaboration we may rely.

For the study of Indonesian law the Dutch have founded at Batavia an "Adat Law Section" (1926) of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (1778) and at Leyden an "Adat Law Foundation" (1917). An inquiry will be instituted in the Philippines in 1931. A "List of books and articles on the customary

"law of Indonesia" of 455 pages was published in 1927. These organizations and their publications supply the wants of juridical ethnology in a fragmentary way only.

For this reason and at the instance of the Adat Law Foundation at Leyden mentioned above, the "Salle de travail d'ethnologie juridique," founded in 1929 in the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, has resolved to declare itself prepared to act provisionally as a central bureau for the study of exotic customary law, in this sense that it undertakes to bring the scattered students, who often have not heard of each other, into contact. It therefore calls upon all those who are able to give information about data concerning the non-codified law of one of the eight groups *a-h* above mentioned. It proposes to publish all information received, in a bulletin once or twice a year, in order to furnish gradually the indispensable organization for this study, the urgent need of which is felt more every day.

Communications may be addressed to M. le professeur René Maunier, 7 avenue d'Orléans, à Paris-14.

C. VAN VOLLENHOVEN; RENÉ MAUNIER.

Kashmir: Prehistoric.

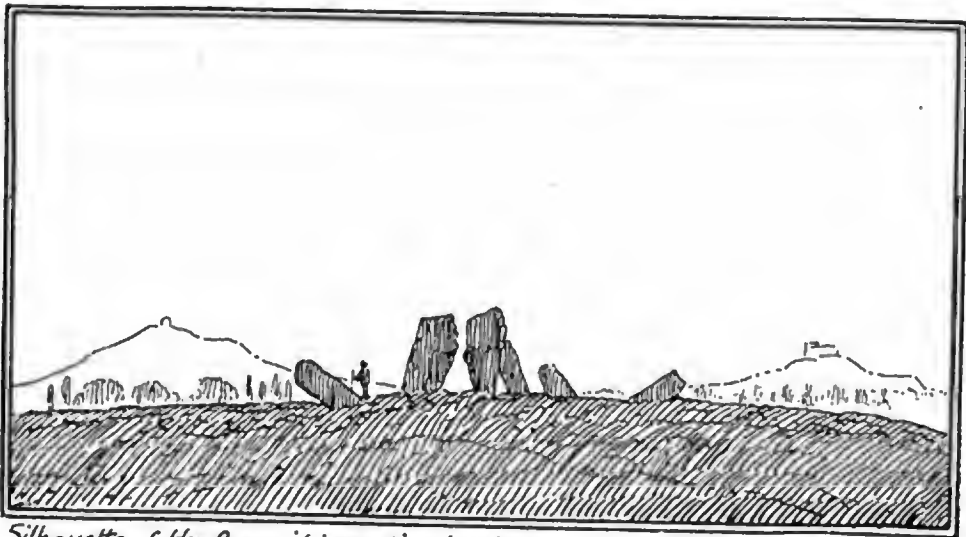
Rybot.

Groups of Menhirs in Kashmir. *Described from the notes and sketches of Major N. V. L. Rybot, D.S.O.*

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The principal group of menhirs stands at Rāmārikī near Burzilhāma, about two miles north-west of the Shāh-il-imārat (commonly called Shālimār) Gardens, in Kashmir. Their situation will be recognized from the view looking south-west, which shows in the background the "Throne of Solomon" (Takht-i-Sūlimān), six miles to the south-west, and Hari-Pārbāt, four miles off, to the right of it.

The sketches herewith were made on the spot by Major N. V. L. Rybot on 4 July 1914. Detailed descriptions of the stones are appended to the sketch-map opposite, which is an approximation only. Cupmarks on some of the fallen



Silhouette of the Ramariki menhirs, looking south-west. On the left is the Throne of Solomon, (Takht-i-Sūlimān). On the right Hari-Pārbāt, 4 miles off. (6 miles away). N.V.L.R.

stones may not be ancient; they appear to be getting larger through modern use; for this subject see MAN 1926, 118.

At Shādi-pūr, ten miles down-stream from Srinagar, Major Rybot saw three prone monoliths; one of them had recent cupmarks. They lay on a *karewah*, one

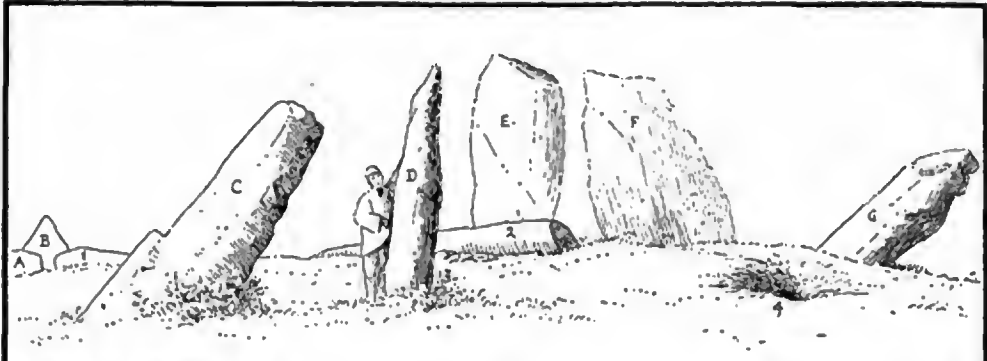
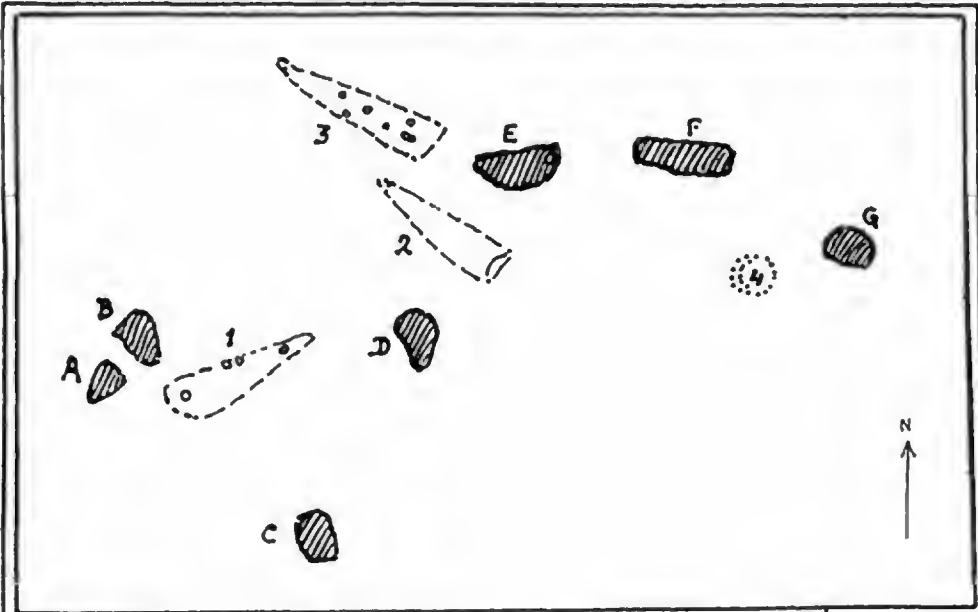


Fig. 1. Ramariki, near a sketch made on the spot.

GROUP OF MENHIRS AT RAMARIKI, NEAR BURZIHAMA ABOUT TWO MILES N.W. OF THE SHĀH-IL-IMĀRAT (ANGULI'S SHĀHMAH) GARDENS, KASHMIR.



Rough Sketch-map of the RAMARIKI Megaliths. Scale 1 inch represents 17 feet. The shaded areas are standing stones, the dotted, prone stones.

A, is a buried stone. B, is broken. C and G, are leaning.

A villager told me that D was called "Shām-sheṛ" or "Tiger's claw." (The word "scimitar" is derived from "shām-sheṛ.") Its height is about 12 feet.

E. and F are both called "mārd," i.e. the "man" menhirs.

G is known as "Tā-ūs nāwāji," = Peacock's beloved or pride (Tail?).

H is a depression from which a stone has presumably been removed.

On I are five cupmarks, the right-most is 8 inches deep and 8 inches in diameter. It was being used to crack walnuts in.

On 3 are seven cupmarks. They are about five inches deep and seven inches in diameter. 2 is called the "dhol" or drum. Its exposed circular base is obviously the cause of the name.

N.V.L. Rybot 2.1.1931.

Notes made on the spot. 4.VII.1914.

of the flat-topped hills in the vale, which are the remains of the alluvial bed of the old lake which once filled the Kashmir Valley. This hill was strewn with fragments of pottery. Future visitors should collect samples of this pottery and bring them home for examination.

Another smaller group of menhirs was seen in 1914 by Major Rybot in the neighbourhood of Srinagar; and he heard of a third group, but was prevented from visiting it by the outbreak of war. It is to be hoped that these indications may enable some other traveller to complete the record of this series of monuments, as interesting for their situation as for their character.

Africa: West.

Torday.

The Things that Matter to the West African. *Summary of an Open Public Lecture by the late Emil Torday : 11th March, 1931.* **116**

In the old days of the slave traffic, and even after it had been superseded by more legitimate trade, the West Coast of Africa was known as the White Man's Grave. It was visited on business only. The few books of this period were not written by scholars, as a rule, but their authors had experience and were keen-sighted and, on the whole, truthful to an astonishing degree. To Ross and Manson's discoveries, not less than to the motor-car, we owe the advent of the tripper and a constant output of literature more amusing than instructive. The casual visitors represent the West African as a lovable or vicious child, according to the disposition of the writer; they scarcely ever touch on the serious side of his life, and insist on that which, in their ignorance, they find funny and grotesque. No greater insult could be offered to the African than to hold him up to ridicule. He is so sensitive on this point that ridicule is not only a recognized form of legal punishment for malefactors, but is also used to curb the rich and powerful. The delightful folk-tales, best known in an Americanized form through Uncle Remus, are satires, pasquinades, in which misdeeds of kings and chiefs are lashed with pitiless irony, the privileged position of the story-teller sheltering him against reprisals.

History and actual observation prove that the West African takes himself very seriously, and that the apparent aimlessness of his outlook, his exuberance and cheerfulness, veil a deep love for his traditional institutions, in whose defence he is capable of dogged and combined systematic efforts which never flag till innovations contrary to his political ideals have been reformed to his liking. He is a democrat to the core, and has shown that he will, and can, make the will of the people prevail over autocracy. At first sight this seems to be scarcely compatible with the conditions in which early travellers found the country: it was honeycombed with small and large monarchies, ruled by apparently absolute tyrants. A closer study of these states reveals that the West African king or kinglet is more restricted in the exercise of his functions than the most constitutional monarch in Europe. Before his advent all government in West Africa was shaped on the family system, based on the extended household consisting of a patriarch and his dependents. Even such a patriarch was, however, strictly controlled by the senior members of the community over which he presided, and traditional law regulated all his political, judicial, economic and religious activities. Gradually such a household would increase so as to become unwieldy; it split into new similar units, which, however, were still held together by the ties of blood and the recognition of a common leader in the person of the patriarch of the group from which they sprang. Under him they formed a clan, independent from all other social ties. Even before the advent of Europeans most of these clans had been welded into states. The formation of West African kingdoms was never due, as it is so widely believed, to the subjugation of one people by another, though at a later stage their extension might be due to conquests. Kingdoms were founded by foreign adventurers of striking personality, great ability

and unscrupulous ambition, coming generally from the east. A successful war in which he took the leadership, his wisdom in settling disputes, his claim to magical powers, intrigue and bribery would gain such a man adherents with whose help he would impose his domination over the clans which had given him hospitality. Wishing to found a dynasty of his own blood, he would introduce the patrilineal system of succession while his subjects continued to observe the laws in inheritance in the female line. He might even claim immortality; his courtiers would keep his death secret for a time, and when his successor asserted his claim to the throne it was not as his son, but as the dead king himself recovered from an illness. Some kings were beheaded before burial and their heads preserved by their successor to advise him; when this successor died he was buried with his predecessor's head and his own assumed its rôle with the next king. Other kings had to eat the heart of their predecessor before they were allowed to rule.

It was with the same idea that many kings were not allowed to die a natural death, but were ceremonially slain, so that their successor should receive their power and virtues before they had been affected by senile decay. Such was the price kings had to pay for attributing to themselves divine qualities. Claiming to be the fountain of all authority, the law was supposed to emanate from them alone; consequently, during an interregnum the country lapsed into anarchy and order was not restored until a new king was acknowledged. All this meant the suppression of traditional democratic government; to all appearances the clans had been absorbed in the kingdoms. In face of such a catastrophe the West African gave proof of his political genius. He bent before the storm, but did not break. While on the surface the king carried all before him, underground the clans still prevailed. Clansmen went to the clan chief to obtain justice, clansmen saw to it that his judgment was carried out without hindrance. Clan chiefs continued to act as intermediaries between the living and the ancestors, regulated the economic life of their people and safeguarded the continuity of clan life by periodical initiation of the rising generation. The initiates formed themselves into a close phalanx under their chief, and such a body was called *Poro*. *Poro* is generally referred to as a secret society, but it is secret only in so far as its meetings and rites are kept secret from the uninitiated and from women. Unostentatiously the *Poro* functioned everywhere as the intrinsic, constructive, and regulative element of tribal life and all the worldly and religious possessions of the clan centred in and emanated from it; it dominated all social activities. It recognized no frontiers of kingdoms, and pretended to acknowledge the supremacy of king, only to be able to undermine it without hindrance.

The ancient clan initiations were performed in *Poro* schools held periodically and lasting four years. Here boys were educated and taught everything that a good clansman ought to know by instruction in the traditional rules which govern religious, intellectual, social, economic and sexual life. Above all, the youngsters were impregnated with the duty of blind obedience to the *Poro* hierarchy. The *Poro* enforced by all possible means, including abduction, the attendance of all boys of a suitable age, and thus impressed not only the children of clansmen, but also those of the usurper's family and henchmen whom it broke by merciless discipline and systematic instruction to submission to its ideals. They had to take the terrible oaths of secrecy and obedience to the *Poro* chief, and they left the school as his disciples and willing tools. Such a boy, should he in the course of time become king, was bound to remain subservient to the *Poro*, and when the White Man arrived on the West Coast this revolution was an accomplished fact, and in the kingdoms he found, *Poro*, or other bodies differing in name, but identical in character and purpose, had all political power in their hands. The king had become the executive officer of the *Poro* chiefs, who surrounded him as royal councillors or placed into such position their own confidential men. Kingship had become a shadow without

substance. At this stage, though there was still a pretence of succession in order of primogeniture, in practice this was disregarded, and the *Poros* hierarchy "elected" the king who would serve them best.

The original democratic form of government was thus re-established under a king with strictly limited powers. In religion, the ancestor of the king became the object of national worship, while the clan ancestors lost nothing of their importance in the eyes of their own descendants. For the oligarchy a figure-head was provided. As no distinction had ever been made between the executive and judicial powers, another instance was added to the tribunals in the king as supreme judge; but, as before, differences between individuals continued to be tried by the head of the smallest social unit to which both litigants belonged. Members of the same family resorted to the father, as of old; those of the same extended household to the patriarch, and those of the same clan to the clan chief. The king came into action as a highest court of appeal or in those cases when the contending parties belonged to distinct clans; in the latter case he served the useful purpose of arranging judicially such differences which, previous to his advent, could only be adjusted by a clash of arms. Land tenure, which had been always communal, suffered no alteration. Land was vested in the ancestors and administered in gradation by the clan chief, the head of the household, the *pater familias*, reaching, finally, the usufructuary cultivator. Now the king was interposed between the clan chiefs and ancestors in whose name he assumed the superior trusteeship. As a trustee the king could never alienate the land, and as the crown land comprised every inch within his kingdom, such a thing as unowned or vacant land could never exist on the West Coast. Part-ownership in the heritage of ancestral land was a *sine qua non* of citizenship; a person who had no share in it had no civic status—he was a slave.

Though woman has not been mentioned in that which precedes, it must not be assumed that her position in West African society is not very important indeed. She matters in every way. She figures less openly in public affairs than man, but her influence on tribal life is at least equal to his. Her traditional power is perpetuated mainly by her strong feeling of sympathy and community with members of her own sex, and a collective, though not individual, antagonism against the other. Neither her husband, nor his family and clan, ever acquire any authority over her. By marriage her husband acquires the usufruct of her sexual qualities, and nothing more. Spiritually, politically and economically she remains a member of her own clan. She resents, and effectively resists, all interference by mere man with matters affecting women. Litigations between women are settled in the first instance by female dignitaries; even the execution of a criminal woman used to be performed by a female executioner. The African woman's most effective weapon is the general strike; let one be offended by a man, and the whole womanhood of the community will side with her and maintain a separation *a toro et mensa* and a suspension of all household duties, including cooking, till the offender is severely punished. Not only were there women councillors; every kingdom had its queen-mother who, in the olden days, was the real head of the clan, delegating part of her powers to her male kinsman, the chief. In the newly-formed kingdoms her voice was weighty in the selection of a new king; she might proclaim him, crown him, or withhold the royal treasure from him till he had proved his worth. When a tribunal retired for deliberation it was said that the chiefs went to consult "the old woman," and it was in her name that judgment was pronounced. There were even, in the eighteenth century, queens in their own right and, though it would be incorrect to call them virgin queens, they never married nor did they allow their Leicesters and Potemkins to interfere in matters of state.

Wherever there was a *Poros* there was also a *Sende* or *Bundu*, i.e. an association of female initiates which embraced the whole adult womanhood of the clan and

had identical methods and aims as *Poro*. In the *Sende* school-girls were initiated just like the boys in the *Poro*.

The leopard and similar societies, arising in consequence of the slave trade, are naturally relatively modern. They were formed to defend the population against the greed of kings and chiefs who attempted to sell their own subjects to the slavers. Cloaked in the skins of leopards and provided with iron imitation claws, their members executed such breakers of tribal law. The slave trade gave rise to many similar societies in various parts of Africa; one of these, aiming at the expulsion of the White Man from Africa, has ramifications from the Nile to Mozambique, from the East Coast to the mouth of the River Congo. It is still spreading.

His past shows the native of West Africa capable of concerted and persevering action when he aims at social ideals. Under the present impact with European influences Africa is pregnant with a new world and, if all goes well, will give birth to a new culture, truly African, but different from that of the past. It will borrow from Europe with discrimination that which is best and most appropriate to the African's natural environment and throw overboard many of the institutions he cherished in the past. If we want to collaborate in the shaping of the future we must, above all, study carefully and sympathetically his time-honoured customs, beliefs and institutions.

E. TORDAY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Britain: Prehistoric.

Armstrong.

Excavations in the Pin-Hole Cave, Cresswell, Derbyshire. *Summary of a communication presented by A. Leslie Armstrong, M.C., F.S.A.: 28 April 1931.* **117**

The Pin Hole excavations, in progress since 1924, have yielded a rich scientific material and thrown valuable light on British pre-history. In this cave, half a century ago, the first discoveries were made at Cresswell, but after a superficial examination of the entrance the work was abandoned. It appears, however, to be the only cave of the Cresswell series which held the full story of the occupation of the ravine in Palæolithic times, and it was the only cave left practically intact by earlier excavators.

A total length of 83 feet has now been excavated, 64 feet of which has been dug to bed-rock, at 14 feet beneath the modern floor of the cave. A layer of stalagmite at the surface has preserved the underlying material from disturbance. Two layers of cave earth exist. The upper level, ranging in time from Upper Aurignacian to a phase which is contemporary with the Magdalenian of France, has yielded an important series of tools in flint which reveal the gradual development of the Upper Palæolithic industries of Britain, and also two examples of early art, one of which is the engraved outline, on bone, of a masked male figure.

The lower cave earth is in three zones, in each of which early Mousterian tools are found and definite evidence of the cave's occupation by man. This lower level has also provided valuable evidence relative to fluctuations of climate during the last great ice age of this country. The animal remains found in both the upper and lower cave earth have been very numerous and include lion, hyæna, cave-bear, wolf, mammoth, rhinoceros, giant-deer, reindeer, and numbers of small mammals; 36 species of birds, three species of fish, and numerous molluscs.

New Zealand.

Page Rowe.

Some Aspects of Maori Art. *Summary of a Communication presented by W. Page Rowe: 5 May 1931.* **118**

The special problems presented by Maori art should be studied from the point of view of its characteristic artistic content. Design for practical purpose means coherent construction, involving balance of mass and of stress and strain, harmony of the vertical and lateral, and especially invention, through imagination, experiment and acquired skill. Practical design also results in shapeliness, a balanced harmony of line and form which is pleasing to the eye. Industrial design is the organisation of form for a practical purpose, artistic design the organisation of form for an æsthetic purpose. Both observe the same structural principles. In Maori art the human figure is used for making patterns, and for naturalistic representation, both persisted side by side, and there is no evidence that the first mode was evolved from the second. The unique character of Maori art is possibly attributable mainly to the stimulus to invention provided by new environment, although it may have been influenced by the people inhabiting New Zealand before the arrival of the Maoris. The common denominator of the study of primitive art should be the æsthetic motive, tracing its reactions to its expressional associations, and its action on the cultural complex.

REVIEWS.

Papua. Williams. *Orokaiva Society.* By F. E. Williams, with an Introduction by Sir Hubert Murray, K.C.M.G. Humphrey Milford at the Oxford University Press, 1930. Svo. Pp. xxiii, 355. Plates 37 and map. Price 25s.

Mr. Williams has previously written "Orokaiva Magic" (reviewed in MAN, 1929, 8) and "Plant Emblems among the Orokaiva" (J.R.A.I., 1925). The present book provides some of the cultural background for which we have been waiting. It begins with a clear and fresh description of physical conditions, the daily life of the people and their technology. There follows a brief outline of the Kinship System, stressing the vagueness of the duties of kin. For example, the mother's brother may perform the acts assigned to him or may leave them to be done by others, but there exists "a cordial relationship" between him and his nephew. It would appear from this sort of observation that Mr. Williams has watched the Kinship System at work, as well as collecting statements about it. We only wish that he would tell us more. We must not expect a monograph in a book of this size, but it is tantalising to be put off with a vocabulary of relationship terms—especially when the rest of his descriptive work is so alive.

Other chapters deal with the Plant Emblem, Marriage, Tribal Migrations, Warfare, Initiation, Mourning, Dance and Drama, The Spiritual Substitute, Survival after Death, Medicine, Morality.

Under Marriage, an important passage deals with "bridegroom price," the wealth

given to reciprocate the "bride price." This bridegroom price may under certain circumstances be refused, and its acceptance is probably connected with brother-sister exchange.

Dramatic dances are a conspicuous and delightful feature of Orokaiva life, and in this connection Mr. Williams observed an important function of the secrecy which surrounds the masked dances of New Guinea. Apparently this falls in line with the secrets of the green-room in our own amateur theatricals. In his description of initiation, the same idea is stressed. The children are hidden while they are being fattened in seclusion in order that, when they reappear ornamented and resplendent, the parents may be struck by their fine growth and development. Clearly Mr. Williams' idea is capable of wide extension, and this function of secrecy to heighten the dramatic value of the final appearance is probably present whenever masks or elaborate costume are worn.

There is one point not made clear about the initiation. The boys and girls go through many of the rites together and it is implied, but never clearly stated, that the flutes and bull roarsers are shown to both sexes—a condition very unusual in New Guinea, where initiation generally stresses the opposition between the sexes.

In the last chapter an outline is given of native concepts of virtue and of the various sanctions which support native morality. Among the latter Mr. Williams emphasizes the fear of public reprobation and of sorcery, and the sympathy which a wrongdoer feels for his victim. In the

introduction, Sir Hubert Murray deals summarily with the same problem—the causes of native orderliness. He says, “The practical administrator can, perhaps, afford to leave the problem unsolved, for it seems clear enough that, whatever the explanation of the mystory may be, it can offer nothing upon which one can work or build upon as a foundation.” But it seems to us that the ties of kinship will continue to be the foundation of morals in New Guinea as in England, and that any building up of a new morality could be more easily based upon the old system than upon the confusion left after that has been destroyed. The horrors which follow the breakdown of the “sympathy group” are not worth risking.

But this argument is irrelevant to the value of the book. Mr. Williams has made an important contribution to our knowledge of New Guinea and to our ideas about primitive culture. GREGORY BATESON.

Psychology.

Isaacs.

Intellectual Growth in Young Children. By Susan Isaacs, M.A. London: George Routledge & Sons. 8vo. Pp. xi + 370. Price 15s. net.

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There are many works which deal with the gradual unfolding of the child mind, and scales whereby it is supposed that any given individual may be compared with his supposedly normal fellows. Some of these have been drawn up by observational methods only, others have depended on the responses of the child to questions asked or problems set for his solution. The weak point of all such is that they more or less assume that the child subject under observation has at the time done his best or taken a reasonable interest in the task. Children are so far docile and used to the inscrutable habits of adults that the assumption on the average is probably true at any rate once the child has gone to any sort of school. Nevertheless psychologists in ever larger measure are endeavouring to note the doings of the child as a child apart from the distracting influence of adults. At one stage children in special observational schools were followed by students with notebooks who naively make the assumption that the child is unaware of their activities and not playing up accordingly. The result is rather like the Underground poster depicting many classes of mankind in cages and the animals wandering around to observe them. An even closer resemblance comes when the observer is concealed from the child, more or less, by a close-meshed wire netting; doubt not the child sees the joke better than the adult. Yet another extreme method has been to leave the children in a room

under observation through a periscope going up to a fanlight over the door.

The present work is based on no such extreme methods, and while endeavouring to record the free actions of the subjects points out the limitations and tries to show the exact nature of any adult intervention. The children observed were in a type of nursery school for professors' children, everything was left as free as possible to the choice of the child so long as the safety of itself or others was not seriously imperilled. The results show that the growth of noetic synthesis characterizes development at all ages, that maturation consists in an increase in the depth and range of this ability and that there is a certain specificity in the logical operations possible at different ages. The author points out the logical relation of subject and attribute is the earliest grasped, then degree begins to be appreciated, spatial relations are mastered before relations of time, and that while causality is usually said to be the last to be apprehended, as to this there are many points at issue. Until puberty the inter-correlations of all intellectual activities is very high, so that the process is far from being one of the emergence of isolated faculties. Attention, memory, perception improve to adolescence, but it may be doubted whether the actual acuity of sensation goes on so long. There is no doubt the young like to deal with large objects and that more difficulty is experienced in ascertaining the limits to their observation, but given an adequate stimulus in the schools the maximum acuity is found in the infants.

This book should be on the shelves of all child students not only for its discussion of psychological problems but for its lists of children's (semi-free) activities, ago for ago, and its catalogue of “why's?”

F. C. S.

Decorative Art.

Petrie.

Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World. By Sir Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., F.B.A. London: (Quaritch) 1930. Pp. 17 and lxxxviii, plates.

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The anthropologist approaches the study of pattern in two ways: firstly, by comparison, leading to a study of historical and geographical distribution; and secondly, by analysis, leading to a study of the sources of inspiration from which patterns are derived. Sir Flinders Petrie has been content to confine this study to the first of these ways of approach, and definitely states that “the purpose of this collection is ‘historical.’” For this reason, he states, he ends his study at 1000 A.D., since “the course of civilizations since 1000 A.D. are (sic) so far familiar that the artistic connections would not add to our history of events.” For this reason, too, his introduction does not give us any æsthetic or philosophic theory of

the origin of motives of decoration, but a very short summary of their historical descent. Many will agree that "the historic connections" of design that can be traced, with due regard "to place and period, give a strong presumption of a real connection between the "designers"; but many will feel that the example of Louis Quinze decoration that is quoted as the racial revival due to descent of a forgotten Late Celtic style is hardly a happy one, since it has a clear and independent classical-baroque ancestry of its own. Nor is it true to say that the fleur-de-lys "probably vanished from architecture after Charlemagne." His finding of "strong evidence" of a wandering body from the army of "Xorxes reaching the Lower Rhine" is not supported by any specific reference in the plates or notes, and in view of other possible avenues of Persian influence might well have been elaborated.

The chief importance of the book lies not in the introduction but in the eighty-eight plates, each containing some twenty line-drawings of ornament. These give no indication of scale, but are classified as far as possible in type-series with indications of their date and provenance. The system is seen at its best in such series as plaitwork, spirals and key-patterns, which the student will find of real value; and at its worst in the more naturalistic styles which owe too much to the recurrent observation of nature to be easily reducible to such a system. Sir Flinders Petrie has had to devote three plates to "Emblems"—a collection of forms which refuse to be classified. Each plate is accompanied by a note that provides a short historical account of the type-series that the student will find indispensable to its comprehension.

This account hardly does justice to the scope, variety and interest of the collection. Sir Flinders is to be congratulated on the treasure of motives that he has assembled, on the scientific pleasure he must have enjoyed in its classification, and on the public spirit he has shown in making this *corpus* available to students.

J. E.

Magic.

Dawson.

The Bridle of Pegasus: Studies in Magic, Mythology and Folklore. By Warren R. Dawson. London: Methuen & Co., 1930. Pp. xv + 203.

This charming little work is of a kind which should be, but is not, common. Dr. Dawson, who is the author of two other works, "Magician and Leech" and "The Custom of Couvade," has the true spirit of the old-fashioned folklorist, or antiquary, who studied anything old and odd simply because it was so. But he has the equipment of a modern student, including, what not all modern students possess, the honesty to say exactly where he has got his information. Hence a series of chats on things which happen to interest him, namely, the Amphidromia, bats, a man (Amenophis) who became a god, nose-rubbing, mouse-eating, hoopoes, birth-wort, and finally mummy. The facts in these are taken mostly from original authorities, referred to exactly, i.e., in such a manner as to enable a reader to

turn up the passage in the shortest possible time, in copious footnotes, supplemented by a bibliography at the end of the book. The reflexions on these facts show an acute mind, perhaps at times a little too easily satisfied in the matter of evidence, but independent and kept from vagaries of an annoying kind by good common sense. They show, moreover, a combination of knowledge not too common, for Dr. Dawson understands medicine, Greek, Latin and Egyptology.

Hence any who feel drawn towards such things as Apollo, bitumen, changelings, Egyptian nobles, flying-foxes, the *Grete Herball*, kissing, and many other matters, on their anthropological side especially, will do well to consult this modest little repository of quaint and reliable information. The reviewer has no serious quarrel with the conclusions, but suggests, with regard to Chap. ii, in which the leathly Harpies of Apollonios Rhodios' fancy are connected with Indian fruit-eating bats, that Apollonios does not say the foul smell was caused by their excreta and describes it as a "dank odour," *μυδαλὴν ὀσμὴν*, "Argonautica," ii, 191; on p. 90, that the description there given of the "modern anthropologist" better fits the anthropologist of yesterday; and that the conclusion reached on p. 100 seems to go rather beyond the facts.

To the excellent bibliography might be added the following: for p. 93, C. Sittl, "Gebärden der Griechen und Römer," Leipzig, 1890; for p. 7 foll., J. Heckenbach, "De nuditate sacra," Giessen, 1911; for the various references to Græco-Egyptian magical papyri, K. Preisendanz, "Papyri Græco-magicae," Vol. i, Leipzig and Berlin 1928; and for Chapter v, J. U. Powell in "Folk-Lore," Vol. xi., p. 173 foll.

Of misprints I note, besides a fairly large crop of misaccutations in the passages quoted from Greek authors, p. 33, 7, veteri for veteris; p. 77, 3, Hellenistic for Hellenic; p. 137, 12, Peisthetairus for Peisthotairus (but even so the true form is Peisetairos) p. 145, note 3, for Divinitate read Divinatione; p. 151, note 1, sect. 3, for quoque read quoque.

H. J. ROSE.

America: Picture Writings. Nordenskiöld.

Picture-writings and other documents by Nêle, Charles Slater, Charlie Nelson and other Cuna Indians. By Erland Nordenskiöld. *Comparative ethnographical studies* 7, part 2. Gothenburg, 1930. Pp. 75, 8 coloured plates. Bibliography. 10" x 7".

In this volume Dr. Nordenskiöld publishes a second instalment of the Cuna Indian documents collected by him in his Panama expedition of 1927: some written by Indians in English, some in the Cuna picture-writing with dictated explanations. We have here accounts of the making of the world, the soul's journey after death, the Sun Ship and the Moon Ship (both carriers of disease demons), the chiefs who invented arts and medicines, "red illnesses," demons that cause trouble in childbirth, snake-eating birds, and a medicine song. In the descriptions of tutelary spirits and spirits of disease and the wooden images made by the medicine-men to combat them, as also in the "Ship" fancy, there is something oddly reminiscent of Nicobarese custom. The

most interesting thing, perhaps, in all this material, is the vitality shown by the Cuna civilization, and its capacity for assimilating an indefinite number of foreign elements. Thus the creation myth (p. 30) while it preserves a truly Indian content and *foris*, introduces many imitations of biblical phrasing, and accounts for such novelties as chairs, tables, boxes and keys; similarly, the soul-journey myth includes railway trains, elevators, the telegraph and other things reported by Cuna sailors. (Nordenskiöld's explanation is that every desirable thing known to the Cuna must exist in their soul-world; otherwise, that world would not be perfect. It may also be suggested that new facts would give no

pleasure—would have no satisfactory footing in the Cuna mind, unless they were fitted into a familiar ideal framework). The Ship, with all its mythical importances, must be a foreign innovation; and so must be the Locked Box, which, symbolizing the womb, is emphasised in two myths as the instrument of creation. Again, the art of the picture-writings (here beautifully reproduced in colours) is Indian in its general style but seems to have been modified and developed with the use of European drawing materials.

There may be hope for the future of an Indian people who can cope so boldly with the intrusions, mental and material, of our civilization. B. A.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Papua. Murray.
Justice and Custom in Papua.

SIR,—I have been reading Captain 124 Pitt-Rivers' letter (MAN, 1930, 152). His letters always interest me; they are such a welcome relief from the criticism to which I have usually been subjected during my long term of office. For I have generally been accused of being too lenient as a judge, and too favourable to natives as an administrator, and too careful of native custom.

Captain Pitt-Rivers finds me just the opposite. I might flatter myself that I had hit the happy mean, but I do not think that he will allow me this consolation; for he evidently has a very bad opinion of me indeed.

And his opinion would be justified if his facts were correct, but fortunately they are not. Doubtless in some cases he has simply been misinformed, but in others his reasoning seems to be at fault. At least I cannot follow it. Thus he refers to pages 36 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.*, and 200 of his book on the "Clash of Cultures," for instances of the neglect of native custom in the Papuan Courts. I have referred to these pages, but I really cannot find anything that has any bearing on the subject. I look at page 38 *et seq.*, and there I find a rather complicated native case in which the statement of facts occupies nearly a page, and in which a Magistrate, misled by a missionary, is said to have given a wrong decision. Well, perhaps he did; I do not know. He certainly seems to have tried to give effect to native custom, but it is possible that the missionary misled him. It appears also that the missionary's statement was made out of court, and that the magistrate received it in evidence. This, of course, was quite wrong; but it had nothing to do with the point raised by Captain Pitt-Rivers.

Whether the facts of this case are correctly stated I cannot say; I had not heard of it until I read about it in Captain Pitt-Rivers' book. Perhaps, like the case next mentioned, it happened before I assumed the administration.

I then go on to page 138 *et seq.* Here I find a reference to something which was done in 1906, and which cannot concern me, for I did not assume the administration until 1907; and I also find some allegations against the Roman Catholic Mission which may or may not be true, but which were not reported to the

Government, and, in any case, have nothing to do with courts or customs. The extraordinary statement that a magistrate was removed to another district, "in consequence" of his disagreement with the mission, appears on these pages; the statement is inaccurate. It is true that a magistrate was removed from this station, but it was not for the reason suggested; it was for striking a prisoner, and the mission had nothing whatever to do with it. It is really a pity that Captain Pitt-Rivers did not inquire from me; I could so easily have set him right.

There remains page 200. This is taken up with the question of sorcery with which I deal later, and with the allegation that the Government assists the missions in waging "a relentless war against polygamy." Now the only piece of evidence brought in support of that allegation is the rule that a village constable who takes an additional wife after his appointment must vacate his position. That is, if he has one wife he cannot take a second, if he has two he cannot take a third, and so on. The reason for this was explained long ago in my book "Papua of To-Day," page 291. It had nothing to do with missionaries or religion; it was, to put it briefly, to prevent the village constable from abusing his position by "cornering" the women. And there is the other very obvious reason that a village constable with a number of relations-in-law might be hampered in the discharge of his duties; he might be too much under their influence. On this account men with only one wife are generally, but not always, preferred for the position.

Surely to call this a "relentless war against polygamy" is an abuse of language. And in no other way do we interfere at all with native marriages; of course, if a village constable resigns or is removed from his office, he may have as many wives as he likes.

But, in any case, what bearing has all this upon the alleged neglect of native custom in the Papuan courts? For that is the charge which Captain Pitt-Rivers is trying to support. Consider how he puts his case. He says: "You are a bad administrator because you do not give effect to native custom in your courts. In proof of this I allege: (i) a case many years ago—it is uncertain how many—in which a magistrate, trying to follow native custom, made a mistake;

"(ii) the fact that you punish what the native regards as the most evil thing in the world—sorcery or black magic; (iii) certain alleged acts of the Roman Catholic Mission which were not reported to you and which have nothing to do with either courts or native customs; (iv) something that took place before you assumed the administration, and (v) the fact that you do not allow village constables to have as many wives as they like while they retain their office."

This is a fair statement of his argument, taken from his own book and letters. As I have already said, I cannot follow it.

Captain Pitt-Rivers' constant attacks have always been a puzzle to me. They are so inconsistent with the general opinion of my administration, which has been criticised very often and very bitterly, but always on lines diametrically opposed to those followed by Captain Pitt-Rivers. And what puzzles me most of all is the fact that he did not tell me of his difficulties while he was staying with me and seeing me every day, and practically all day. He was evidently collecting material all the time; why, then, did he not ask me for an explanation of some of these things which seem to him so wrong? Why did he not inquire from me about the native custom, and about the marriages, and the village constables, and the sorcerers, and about the construction of the "Code" (by which I suppose he means the native regulations), and the interpreters, and all the rest of it? Surely I was the best authority he could apply to, and he was with me during most of his stay in Papua; in fact, it was from my house that he left to go to the mandated territory of New Guinea. Yet he said no word to me on any of these subjects.

He says, indeed, that he complained to me of four cases; but here his memory is at fault. He spoke to me of one case, and of one only. This was a few days before he left the territory. The case in question was one in which a Christian native had interfered with a native marriage ceremony and had been sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Captain Pitt-Rivers (as is so often the case) had heard only part of the story; he had heard of the offence, but not of the punishment, and he thought that the Christian had been unduly favoured and had gone scot-free. I soothed his feelings by telling him that the Christian had gone to gaol, and then I asked him if he had heard of any other case of what had appeared to him to be injustice. He said that he could not remember any. Pressed further, he said that there were no others so far as he knew; and this, it must be remembered, was only a few days before he left Papua, when he had, probably, all the information that he has now.

Doubtless many of Captain Pitt-Rivers' complaints are to be explained in the same way; he only hears part of a case, or only one side, and immediately jumps to a conclusion. For instance, he meets a sorcerer who says that he has been unjustly punished, and whose friends naturally support him; Captain Pitt-Rivers accepts the sorcerer's statement, and inquires no further. Of course, every one, black or white, who has been convicted of an

offence is apt to think that he has been unfairly treated; and every unsuccessful litigant thinks that there has been a miscarriage of justice. But an experienced observer, before accepting such statements, will put them to the test of further inquiry. It is true that Captain Pitt-Rivers says that some of his information came from Magistrates, but I cannot think that any Government Officer could have told him, *e.g.*, that we punish "white magic," or that we interfere with native marriages; there must have been a misunderstanding somewhere.

Many points are raised by Captain Pitt-Rivers, but it is impossible to deal with them all. Take, *e.g.*, the rule that proceedings must be in English, which was adopted by Sir William MacGregor, and followed by his successors, including myself. Any lawyer with a knowledge of Papuan conditions would approve of this rule. Sir William was one of the most distinguished of British administrators, and it is generally safe to follow his lead. It was Sir William who made the regulation against sorcery; he described sorcery as a "weed of universal distribution."

I am, of course, well aware of the fact that an anthropologist generally looks at questions of administration from a point of view very different from that of an administrator. This is well expressed by Madame van Maanen Holmer in her book on the "Mandates System," page 245; and the question of sorcery affords a good instance of this difference. But Dr. Haddon, who is probably the greatest of British anthropologists, and is certainly the one that has the best knowledge of the methods of the Papuan Government, has always spoken very highly of our native administration, and has, I believe, classed it among the best in the Empire. And even our regulation against sorcery, which so excites the wrath of Captain Pitt-Rivers, was selected for special mention by the very learned author of the article on "Applied Anthropology," on page 141 of new Vol. I of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ed. 13, as a "useful" method of dealing with a difficult subject.

I feel that I must apologise for the inordinate length of this letter. It must be remembered that I am writing from the other side of the world, and that very few of those who may read what I write will even have heard of me, still less have any knowledge of my character. Were I writing for readers in Australia, where I am known, I might have shortened by letter very considerably, but, for all I know, people in England may be ready to believe that I really am a lover of injustice and a worker of oppression, and to give credit to charges against me which would be scouted by those who know me. For this reason, I must write at greater length than I should otherwise think necessary.

It appears, however, that my correspondence with Captain Pitt-Rivers has reached a stage at which one of us positively states and the other positively denies, and, that being so, I cannot see that any good can come from its continuance. It is therefore not my intention to write any more. J. H. P. MURRAY.
Government House, Port Moresby,
8th February, 1931.

Magic.

Thomas.

Flying Tricksters, Ghosts, Gods and Epileptics.

SIR,—Although Mr. J. W. Layard in his interesting article under the above title (*J.R.A.I.* LX, 501) realizes the insufficiency of his evidence for a connection between the cultures of Malekula and Ancient Egypt, and although he intimates that he has further evidence to publish, I think it may be useful to point out the essential lack of *vraisemblance* in the ideas he selects as connections with "Osirian" beliefs.

Dismemberment (v. *Golden Bough* Index) is, or was, very wide-spread in the world in connection with agricultural fertility rites, and the Osirian story is almost certainly referable to this practice. The myth of the restoration of the body of Osiris by Isis and her friends may confidently be attributed to the development of the belief that the soul's life was dependent upon the integrity of the body. Before that the body was often dismembered or allowed to decay before burial and the parts separately wrapped.

Osiris, like Genulphus in the Ingoldsbay legend, was dismembered at "clavicle, elbow, hip, ankle and knee," and not, like the Bwili, into some six parts. The severed parts of Genulphus were magically re-united. In one of the oldest Egyptian tales the magician restores the severed head of a goose. Such wonder-tales may well have an independent origin wherever they occur: a child mechanically replaces the broken parts of a toy.

The *Ba* soul of Osiris does not come into the legend: the *ba* bird is only represented as returning to visit the human body it has quitted.

If the justified are believed to go skywards after death, wings and bird-forms are inevitably suggested for the soul (although the Egyptians had land—and water—routes,—apparently *via* the horizon).

The animals in, and connected with, the Egyptian pantheon are so numerous that coincidences (like snake and pig) are of little significance.

The canopic jars (4 sons of Horus) are stated to have devolved into 4 gold leaves in Greco-Roman times. Surely what is meant is figures of gold-leaf or gilt cartonnage? The only coincidence is apparently in the number four. The Egyptian life-amulet, the *ankh*, is rather an oval upon a T, than a circle. It is rare as a personal amulet and must be exceedingly uncommon made of shell.

As for the epileptoid-religious aspect of (male) homosexual practices in Ancient and Modern Egypt, the cases cited by Mr. Hornblower can all be interpreted as "gestures" of contempt (serious or wanton) or insult, or a (to us) bizarre form of humour. So the king in the Pyramid Texts is made to evidence his contempt of, or superiority to, the gods, and Set of and to Horus.

The threat (at any rate) in this sense, is not unknown in modern Egypt.

As regards the main subject of Mr. Layard's paper, may I briefly note that he does not mention the self-induced mediumistic trance

which, whatever it is, may be neither pathological nor simulated?

ERNEST S. THOMAS.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Family.

Young.

The Meaning of the Word "Family."

SIR,—I have just been reading Lord Raglan on "The meaning of the word 'Family,'" in *MAN*, 1931, 2, and send this note to report the existence among the Tumbuka-Kamanga people of Northern Nyasaland of a word distinct from that for "clan" or "kin" and used in a sense as near to that of our "family" as is ever likely to be found within the Bantu system with its typical social institution, the "clan" or the "group."

The people to whom I refer do, occasionally, use their word for "house," i.e., *nyumba* in the sense of "household" or *domus*. For "clan" or *gens* they always use *fuku*. But every married man has also his *mbumba* and it is this word which—within the limits set for it—we are forced to translate "family."

It is obviously of the same stock as *nyumba*, the house. It can be used by the eldest son of the man, among the *lobolo*-paying clans, or by the eldest nephew among those in our southern or Chewa area where *lobolo* is not paid. In other words, it refers to the circle of those for whom a man has become responsible and, inferentially, his next heir.

It does not extend behind the man; that is to say it would not normally include his father or mother; only those for whom he is personally responsible. His mother, of course, belongs to his father's *mbumba*—or, on the other system, to his uncle's. But for him and his heir there exists within the *fuku* this more intimate group, the *mbumba* (in the "yi-", "zi-" class of noun). It therefore comes very near to "Family (A)" of Lord Raglan's article.

It has to be noted, however, that a mother or grandmother, or father or grandfather who has lost all other means of support and comes for harbourage to son or grandson, at once comes within the circle of the son's or grandson's *mbumba*. In exactly the same way, any grandchild—or on the other system, grand-nephew or niece—whose immediate protector or *meenembumba* is dead or unable to support, may be taken into the care of the grandfather or granduncle and become *wambumba yake*, i.e., one of his family.

By courtesy also the term can be stretched to cover permanent or temporary employees; but this is only in courtesy and would not involve the *meenembumba* in litigation and so forth unless he voluntarily burdened himself therewith. In other words, we find our *mbumba* approaching the content of the Roman *familia*.

T. CULLEN YOUNG.

Loudon Station, P.O. Mzimba, Nyasaland.

Congresses.

Burkitt: Myres.

Prehistoric Congresses.

SIR,—A great lawyer was lost when Professor Myres turned his attention to Ancient

History. In his article (MAN, 1931, 63) on "International Congresses, Anthropological or Prehistoric" §IV. he tells the truth, but perhaps not the whole truth. It is true that with my colleagues (one of whom has since told me that he had but a hazy idea of what the discussion was all about) I agreed to the resolutions in question and that they were unanimously passed; but I stated at the time, and wrote to Dr. Bosch-Gimpera later, that by "questions in general anthropology and ethnology" I only included physical anthropology and the material culture of modern primitive people—thereby excluding questions of general social anthropology. As prehistorians, we do not want to find the publications of the congresses "cluttered up" with papers on bride price, social customs, initiation ceremonies and the like. In just the same way an eminent social anthropologist wrote to me, "When we have an anthropological congress 'we shan't want to be snowed under with 'papers on your beastly pottery and burins!' " It is becoming increasingly difficult to find towns which are prepared to offer hospitality to large unwieldy congresses, and the organisation becomes so elaborate that busy people are unwilling to tackle it. What is needed is what had in fact already developed by 1912: namely, a congress of prehistorians and physical anthropologists interested in prehistoric skeletons, where papers on any subject directly bearing on prehistory (geology, botany, palaeontology, etc.) were welcomed. Certain special aspects of social anthropology would undoubtedly thus be admitted. Those interested in pure ethnology, modern populations, folklore, criminology and the like would do well to found a series of congresses for themselves. There is plenty of interesting and important material for them to discuss.

M. C. BURKITT.

Sir,—Let the whole truth be told. In January, 1930, Mr. Burkitt was alone in maintaining that the pre-war congress was extinct and that the only congress now possible or desirable was that projected "sans s" by the *Institut International d'Anthropologie*, which included anatomy, oögonies, and the like. In March, 1931, he was alone in maintaining the contrary. On both occasions he withdrew his opposition at the meeting. But after both meetings he again supported the opinions he withdrew. J. L. MYRES.

Etiquette.

Hocart.

Further Definition of Etiquette.

Sir,—Mr. Hogbin, in MAN, 1931, 88, **128** supplies a very useful basis for a definition of etiquette; it gives one something to think about; but it is not final. Etiquette is not the only form of behaviour which "has no further sanction than public opinion." Our dress has no other sanction than the ridicule or the disapproval of our neighbours; yet to go about dressed as Robin Hood or Charles II would "call forth disapproval or ridicule," without being a breach of etiquette. It would become one if you appeared in this dress at a funeral, at Court, or some other ceremonial. It would be taken as a display of levity, and

therefore an insult to the rest of the company, especially to those who preside over the ceremonial, such as the mourners, the King, the host, etc. Possibly it would be attributed to insanity, and then would cease to be treated as a breach of etiquette, because no insult was implied. In the same way it is etiquette to sit tailor fashion at a Tongan kava-party; but a European is not held guilty of a breach of etiquette if he stretches his legs, because it is known he simply cannot sit cross-legged, and so he is excused. It is not disrespectful in his case.

A man may excuse himself, as when he asks leave to rise from table before his host. It then ceases to be a breach of etiquette, because he has given a reason which is considered sufficient and exonerates him from all intention of being rude.

Etiquette always implies two things, respect and ceremonial, and no definition can be complete which overlooks them. A. M. HOCART.

Treasure Trove. Ward. The Law of Treasure Trove in Scotland. **129**

Sir,—With reference to the loose inset dealing with Treasure Trove, issued with the May number of MAN, as the procedure outlined in it applies only to objects found in England, I should be glad if you would allow me to draw your readers' attention to the proper procedure in Scotland. Scottish treasure trove is offered through the agency of the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer to the National Museum of Antiquities. If the authorities there decline the offer, the treasure is then submitted to the Royal Scottish Museum. Objects retained by either of these Museums are purchased at adequate prices from the finders, to whom any unwanted specimens are returned.

E. WARD,

Director.

Royal Scottish Museum,
Edinburgh.

[We have to thank also Mr. J. B. T. Mackay, 4, Roseburn Cliff, Edinburgh, for information in the same sense. Ed.]

Language.

Raglan.

Shouting and Non-Shouting Languages. (Cf. MAN, 1931, 55, 109.) **130**

Sir,—It appears that Major Stoneham and Mr. Amshury accept my classification of languages as "shouting" and "non-shouting," but think that the facts, in Kenya and California, are against my suggested explanation, viz., that "shouting" languages were evolved by people living on rocky hills. It is also, I must admit, difficult to explain satisfactorily on this view the fact that America is evolving a "shouting" variety of English. For example, instead of—"Look here, Macdonnell, you'll have to go up by the lift," an American might say—"Say, Macdonnell, you sure gotta use the elevator." This phenomenon must be due to environmental causes. What are they?

RAGLAN.

Cefntilla Court, Usk.

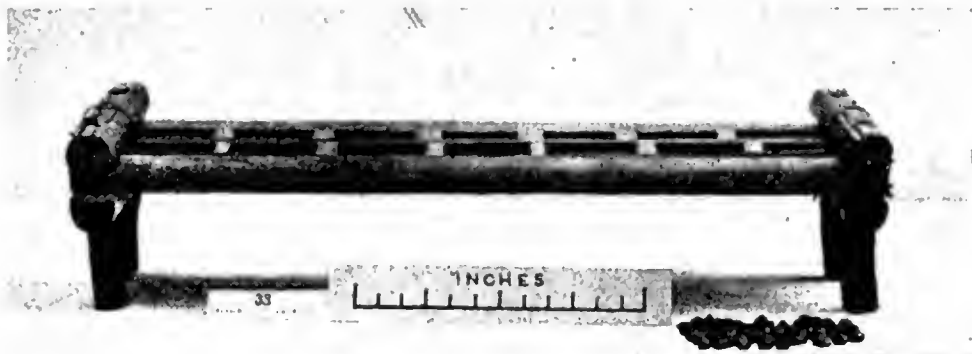


FIG. 1. A MANCALA BOARD CALLED "SONGO," FROM FRENCH CAMEROONS.

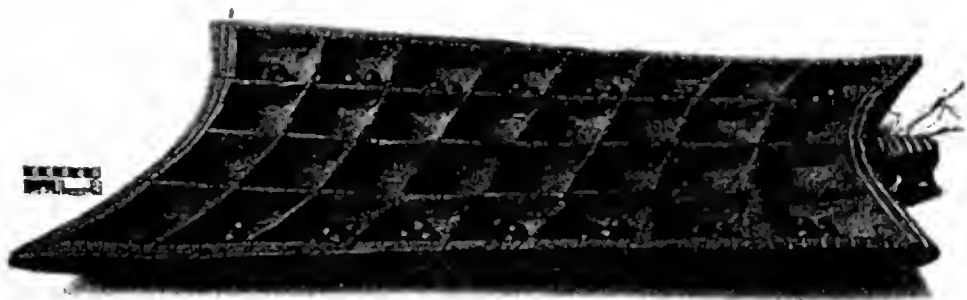


FIG. 2. A MWESO BOARD FROM UGANDA, CUT FROM THE SOLID.



FIG. 3. A LARGE MWESO BOARD FROM UGANDA, CUT FROM THE SOLID.
DEPOSITED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY H.M. THE KING.
Length 3 ft. 4 in.; breadth 2 ft.; height 1 ft. 6 in.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 131-158.

JULY, 1931

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Uganda.

With Plate G.

Braunholtz.

The Game of Mweso in Uganda. By H. J. Braunholtz, British Museum. **131**

The following variety of the game of "Mancala" was noted by me in 1929, as played by some of the Baganda at Entebbe. The game is called *mweso* after the wooden board on which it is played (Plate G. 2 and 3). The board has four rows of eight holes each, two rows for each player (see diagram, fig. 4). Each player has thirty-two pieces as counters, consisting of wild banana seeds (*mpiki*), which are distributed evenly in the back rows, four pieces to a hole, as a preliminary formality. Before commencing play the players may re-distribute their own pieces in any way they please in their own two rows. A favourite arrangement was to gather a large number in the two holes in the back row on the player's extreme left (*i.e.*, A7 and A8; and D1 and D2).

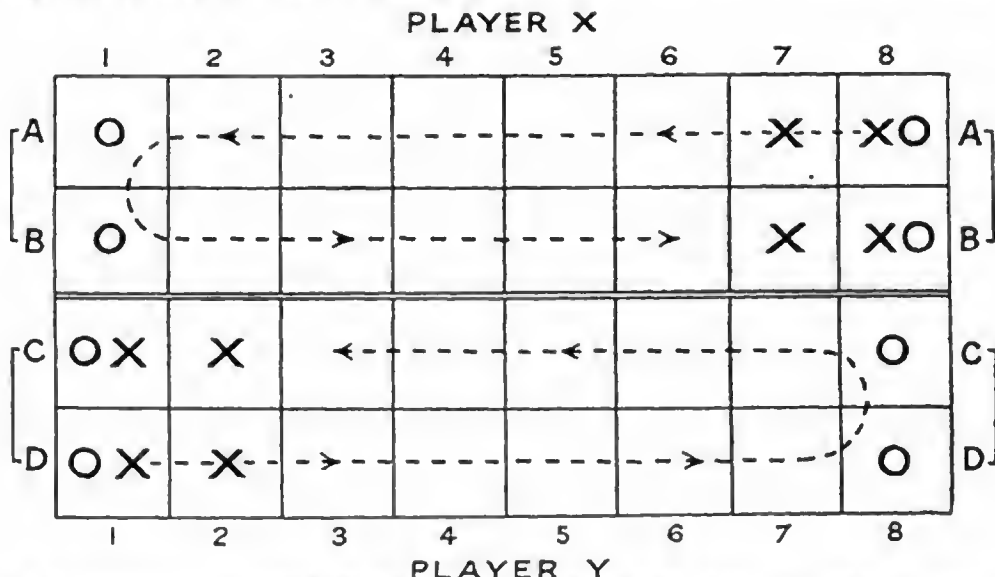


FIG. 4—DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE THE "MWESO" VARIETY OF THE "MANCALA" GAME IN UGANDA.

Moves.—Each player moves in turn by picking up all the pieces from any one of his holes containing more than one piece, and dropping one piece in each successive hole in the direction of movement, starting with the hole next to that from which he has picked up. Normal movement is from the player's left to right along the back row (*i.e.*, A8 to A1, and D1 to D8), and then from right to left along the front or centre row (*i.e.*, B1 to B8, and C8 to C1), in fact, counter-clockwise, if we regard the movement of each player round his two rows as a circular one. Single

pieces may not be moved. Thus if Player Y picks up eight pieces from hole D2, he will drop one each in holes D3, D4, D5, D6, D7, D8, C8, C7, in that order. If the last piece of those picked up falls into a hole already containing one or more pieces, the player picks up all the pieces in that hole, including the one he has just dropped into it, and again deals them out, one at a time, in successive holes in the same manner and direction as before. He repeats the process until the last piece of his "pick-up" falls into an empty hole. It is then his opponent's turn to move. Although *normal* movement is counter-clockwise, if a player picks up from any of the four holes on his extreme left (those marked with a cross on the diagram) he may move in the reverse direction, i.e., clockwise, if he wishes. But having started a move in one direction, he must continue in the same direction until that particular move is finished.

Capture.—If a player's last piece falls in one of his front row holes which already contains one or more pieces, and if his opponent's front and rear holes opposite to that hole *both* contain one or more pieces, he captures all his opponent's pieces in those two holes. His move then continues, *not* from the hole he has just reached, but from the hole adjacent, on the near side, to the one which he last emptied. Adding the captured pieces to those already in this hole, he continues his move as before with all these pieces.

For example: Y picks up five pieces from D6, and places one each in D7, D8, C8, C7, and C6. If C6 is an occupied hole and X's holes A6 and B6 are also both occupied, Y captures all the pieces in A6 and B6, adds them to the piece or pieces in D7, and picking up all the pieces now in D7, distributes them one by one in D8, C8, C7, C6, etc., as far as they will go. Should his last piece effect another capture, he must return with these newly captured pieces to D8, since D7 as well as D6 will now be empty.

Object.—Theoretically, the object of the game is to capture all the opponent's pieces. But in practice this is almost impossible, and victory may also be achieved in either of the two following ways. If a player is left with not more than one piece in any of his holes; or if both holes at both ends of his two rows (i.e., the four holes marked O on the diagram) are all empty simultaneously, his opponent has won the game.

It will be noticed that this form of the game differs only slightly in its essential features from the Didinga and Lango varieties described by Mr. J. H. Driberg in MAN, 1927, 114 and 127, and combines the Didinga method of capture with the use of the Lango "turning base" (i.e., the four holes from which one may move either clockwise or counter-clockwise). It is, however, possible that there may be further details in the rules of the Baganda game, which were not explained by my interpreter. My time was not long enough to allow more than a few experimental games to be played; and it may be that certain possible contingencies have not been provided for in the rules given here. I trust that if this account comes to the notice of anyone with fuller experience than mine of the Baganda method he will supplement it as far as may be necessary.

The *mueso* board illustrated in Plate G.2. was kindly obtained for me by Mr. E. J. Wayland, Director of the Geological Survey of Uganda. It is cut from a single piece of wood, and has a rawhide thong attached for carrying. The complete set of 64 *mpiki* is seen arranged in the opening position as described. This is the ordinary type of board in use by the people.

Plate G.3. illustrates an unusually large and finely carved specimen, which, with its openwork stand, is cut from a single block of pale wood. It was presented to H.M. the King by H.H. Daudi Chwa, King of Uganda, and has been deposited in the British Museum since 1919.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

Cameroons.

Powell-Cotton.

A Mancala Board called "Songo." By Major P. H. G. Powell-Cotton.**132**

The board figured in Plate D. came in 1929 from the M'Velle East Country, to the East of Yaounde, French Cameroons. It measures $33\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches and stands $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It is formed of four mid-ribs of palm leaf lashed together with cross pieces above and below at the ends, with four rough hard wooden legs, secured by a peg which passes through each outer rib and its cross pieces. About a quarter of each side is split off to make a flat surface. In the two centre ribs this flat surface is uppermost. Each has seven compartments cut in it 3 inches to 4 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The two outer ribs have the flat side downwards.

With this and similar boards, the game of *Songo* was being played in the M'Velle East Country, September, 1929. The M'Velle tribe occupies the country N.E. of Yaounde, French Cameroons.

The board has fourteen compartments, seven on each side; 5 beans (often, as in this case, small stones are used) are placed in each, totalling 70.

There are two players, one on each side. The players alternately pick up all the beans from any compartment on their side, and drop them consecutively one in each, commencing with the compartment next to (and on the left of) the one from which the beans are taken. If there are sufficient beans, this is continued along the opponent's side till they are exhausted.

The object of each move is to complete a previously determined number with the last bean of a round dropped in a compartment on the opponent's side. The number is usually 2 or 4; or 3 or 4; but 2, 3, or 4 is also played to make a shorter game. That is to say, the last bean played should fall in a compartment which already contains 1 or 3; 2 or 3; or 1, 2 or 3 beans, according to the method agreed on.

When one of the agreed numbers has been made in an opponent's compartment the player not only takes the beans in it, but also those in the compartments on either side of it or consecutive to it, which then contain a similar number. The player who has no more beans on his side, when it is his turn to play, is the loser.

The Balanga people play with only four compartments on each side of the Songo board; Duala people play with seven compartments as in M'Velle, and with eight beans instead of five per compartment. P. H. G. POWELL-COTTON.

NOTE.—This account agrees closely with that given for the same region by G. Tessmann in "Die Pangwe" (1912), Vol. II, p. 310, and his fig. 115 illustrates a board almost identical with this one. He states that captures are effected by making up to either 2, 3 or 4 with the last bean played, and that *only the preceding holes* containing these numbers are captured, not those on either side of the one in which the last bean is dropped.

This rule of capturing from preceding holes as well as from that in which the last bean is dropped, if they contain (in this case) either twos or threes, also holds good for the form of *wari* described by G. T. Bennett in Rattray's "Religion and Art in Ashanti" (1927), p. 382 ff.

This game (says Tessmann) is played by the Yaunde and Bene (who learned it from tribes further East), and more rarely by the Ntum and 'Fang; the name *Songo* means "small pebbles." i.e., the pieces used by the players. H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

Solomon Islands: Linguistics.

Waterhouse; Ray.

The Kazukuru Language of New Georgia. By J. H. L. Waterhouse.**133**

Communicated with Notes by S. H. Ray.

I have received from Mr. J. H. L. Waterhouse some specimens of a dialect of New Georgia of which nothing has been recorded hitherto. This is called by its

speakers *Zinou Kazukuru* (Kazukuru Speech). Concerning the people, Mr. Waterhouse writes:—"There are very few Kazukuru people left, and these are mostly intermarried with Roviana and Muda folk. Their villages (or some of them) were Bau or Bao, Tirokiamba, Patu Kuti and Patu Kuna. The sites only are said to remain, and so far as I know no white man has ever seen them. They are in the rough hill country of New Georgia inland from Roviana. The Kazukuru people speak of a man who came from Moqala Qanaqana* near Querasi, who married a prominent chieftainess Vakorige from whom Nua (widow of Lai) and Dudi (widow of Kere) two sisters claim descent. Instead of the carved wooden images of Roviana the Kazukuru had a tree called Reqe which was uprooted and placed in an inverted position, roots uppermost. All snakes were left unmolested as they were regarded as sacred. Some of the people also spared the Ruruhu or large crabs. If they ate these they were supposed to contract a disease resembling leprosy. It seems as though this disease, or leprosy, was common amongst the Kazukuru, but at this stage it is very difficult to get much information on the subject."

Sounds are written as in Roviana, except that *ng* is written for the italic *n* (*ng* in "sing"); *q* is the Roviana *q* (*ngg* in finger); *b* and *d* are *mb* and *nd* as in Roviana.

Compared with Roviana the Kazukuru language shows some interesting features. Most of the words are quite unlike Roviana, but others appear to have a faint resemblance due to change of vowels or metathesis, e.g.:—

Changed vowels: *imbe* ashes, R. *emba*; *pilapila* butterfly, R. *pepela*; *emo* come, R. *emai*; *nipo* drink, R. *napo*; *kalenou* bad, R. *kaleana*; *meta* eye, R. *mata*; *neuno* foot, R. *nene*; *reo* forehead, R. *rai*; *linea* good, R. *leana*; *piloni* stone, R. *patu*; *kiloni* water, R. *kolo*; *kiboni* weep, R. *kabo*; *gimo* we, R. *gami*; *gumo* you, R. *gamu*; *qilo* we, R. *gila*; *limoni* five, R. *lima*; *suno* breast, R. *susuna*.

Metathesis: *pito* arrow, R. *tupi*; *vi-niti* body, R. *tini*; *hikani* fire, R. *nika*; *monamona* great, R. *nomana*; *nginongino* hot, R. *ma-ngini*; *zeponi* name, R. *posana*; *hatubua* sit, R. *habotu*; *ruto* stand, R. *uru*.

A few other comparisons may be made with Roviana: *vengala* bow, R. *bokala*; *minata* die, R. *minate* death, from *mate* to die; *mangaguti* fear, R. *mataguti*. Also *m* represents R. *mb* in *muni* night, R. *bongi*; *s-imu* cold, R. *imbu*.

Very few indications of grammar appear in the word-list. In *simu* cold, *sioso* sweet, *si* may be an adjective prefix corresponding to the R. *ma*, though *ma* does not appear in the R. equivalents, *imbu* cold, *lomosio* sweet. But *si-nipe* translates the R. *ma-nivisi* thin, which seems to show the Melanesian root *nipis*. Also *si-tunu* thick, appears connected with the Melanesian *ma-tolu*.

In the word for "die," *minata*, *in* may be the R. infix as in *minate* death. The suffixes *no*, *nov*, *nu* seen in some nouns and adjectives may be the R. *-na* also used with nouns and adjectives.

In the numerals 14 is formed from 4 by the suffix *va*, 17 from 7 by the suffix *ri*, 19 from 9 by the suffix *ne*, and 8 is differentiated from 18 by the suffix, but no rule can be formulated for the construction.

Some of the words noted as resembling Roviana may be possibly related to Melanesian, but with these exceptions the vocabulary seems quite unlike any of the Melanesian or Papuan languages of the Solomons.

Mr. Waterhouse gives the following phrases translated from Roviana to Kazukuru, here marked K:—

R. <i>Taloo nada</i> !	K. <i>Ria tara bina</i> !	Let us (incl.) go !
R. <i>Pule mai</i> !	K. <i>Kipatu</i> !	Come back ! or, Return !
R. <i>Hena mai</i> !	K. <i>Hinani</i> !	Bring it ! of food, etc.

* In these and the following names: *q* = *ngg* or *ng* in "finger."

R. <i>Manania</i> !	K. <i>Bahoro maqalia</i> !	May it be "mana" ! or, Bless it !
R. <i>Mami vetu.</i>	K. <i>Anumami solu.</i>	Our houses (excl.).
R. <i>Eko qua.</i>	K. <i>Moloto qonu.</i>	My lying down.
	K. <i>Pagara na viguvigu.</i>	An expression <i>re talo</i> planting.

PRONOUNS.

Personal.				Possessive.			
	Roviana.		Kazukuru.		Roviana.		Kazukuru.
I	- arau	-	rauno.	My, mine	taqarau	-	rinatau.
Thou	- agoi	-	goino.	Thy, thine	tamugoi	-	tiumugo.
He, she, it	- asa	-	sana.	His, hers	- tanisa	-	tiudenisi.
We (incl.)	- gita	-	qito.	Ours (incl.)	tadigita	-	tiudeguto.
We (excl.)	- gami	-	gimo.	Our (excl.)	tamigami	-	tiudogino.
You	- gamu	-	gumo.	Your	- tamugamu	-	tiudegoni.
They	- arini	-	riniai.	Their	- tadirini	-	tiudeoreno.

NUMERALS.

	Roviana.		Kazukuru.		Roviana.		Kazukuru.
1	- tasa, keke	-	nasata.	15	- manego lina	-	ngonango.
2	- karua	-	runaruna.	16	- manege onomo	-	piloene.
3	- ngeta	-	tairo.	17	- manego zuapa	-	sinevari.
4	- made	-	dinoe.	18	- manege vesu	-	sulano.
5	- lima	-	limoni.	19	- manege sia	-	lusino.
6	- onomo	-	pinopo.	20	- hiokona	-	zamanonu.
7	- zuapa	-	sineva.	30	- tolo ngavulu	-	toluto.
8	- vesu	-	sulasu.	40	- made ngavulu	-	midono.
9	- sia	-	lusi.	50	- lima ngavulu	-	nilono.
10	- manege	-	genole.	60	- onomo ngavulu	-	ulono.
11	- manege eke	-	genege.	70	- zuapa ngavulu	-	zitono.
12	- manege rua	-	runito.	80	- vesu ngavulu	-	visono.
13	- manege ngeta	-	ginata.	90	- sia ngavulu	-	sinoto.
14	- manege made	-	dinoeva.	100	- gogoto	-	gonatou.

VOCABULARY.

	Kazukuru.		Kazukuru.		Kazukuru.
Areca nut	- piku.	Bowels	- singu.	Dance	- piloke.
Arrow	- pito.	Breadfruit	runa.	Darkness	- huhumi.
Ascend	- melasaulo.	Break	- pikotou.	Daylight	- kekeana.
Ashes	- imbe.	Breast	- suno.	Descend	- melata.
Awake	- vauneu.	Burn ⁴	- pitapona.	Die	- minata.
Axe ¹	- taunouna.	Bury	- pinotu.	Dig	- qanelo.
Bad	- kalenou.	Butterfly	- pilapila.	Dirty	- rukonu.
Bamboo	- hila.	Chew,	mesamea.	Dog	- pilipuo.
Banana	- vinovo.	betel, etc.		Do not,	totoro.
Barter	- linoqa.	Chief	- zanga zanga.	don't.	
Basket	- sukonou,	Child	- rinotu.	Door	- siname.
	sukinai.	Clean	- bino.	Draw water	rurunu.
Belly	- lea	Cloud	- hinu.	Dream	- putintue.
Belt ²	- rito.	Club	- vendorou.	Drink	- nipo.
Bird ³	- kinoukoru-	Coconut	- voarana.	Ear	- nginoia.
	renou.	Cold	- simu.	Earth, soil	vunungo.
Bite	- biratia.	Come	- emo.	Eat	- gitagia.
Black	- himo, muloni.	Cook ⁵	- miloe.	Egg	- linongo.
Blood	- rinati.	Creek	- renou (?).	Elbow	- tingulu-tinga
Body	- viniti.	Crocodile	- binga binga.	Eye	- meta.
Bone	- sinori.	Cut ⁶	- zanuturo.	Face	- singu meta.
Bow	- vengala.	Damp ⁷	- siru siru.	Father	- mamato.

VOCABULARY—continued.

	Kazukuru.		Kazukuru.		Kazukuru.
Fear v.	- mangaguti.	Leaf -	- piloi.	Scratch -	ritini, gepino.
Feast -	searangano.	Leg -	- nukolou.	See -	- sino.
Feather -	qinutu-rukenu.	Lie down -	etikou.	Sholl orna-	ukeana.
Finger -	rinurinu.	Limo -	sinengi.	ment. ¹⁵	
Fire -	- hikani.	Lip -	- mono.	Shield -	lovino.
Fish -	- mesai.	Live -	- nginoto.	Sing -	- kino.
Flesh -	- sinimai.	Liver -	- tobe.	Sit -	- hatubuo.
Flower -	- ruvona.	Man -	- memoni.	Sleep -	- pinou.
Fly n.	- zinongo.	Mat -	- hamihami.	Small -	- menilena.
Fly v.	- ripoti.	Moon -	- retulu.	Soft -	- hinohinoho.
Food -	- sininai.	Mother -	- mamano.	Speak -	- zino, zinou.
Foot -	- neuno.	Mouth -	- ngongano.	Spear -	- zatombau.
Forehead -	reo.	Musical in-	sutuno.	Stand -	- ruto.
Forest, bush.	butu vulu.	strument ¹¹		Stone -	- pitoni.
Fruit -	- vutavuta.	Namo -	- zeponi.	Sugar cane	mizamiza.
Give -	- munoa.	Neck -	- niqou.	Sweet -	- sioso.
Go -	- liu.	Night -	- muni.	Tabu ¹⁶ -	tambuna,
Good -	- linea.	Noso -	- sungu.	manginino.	
Great -	- monanona.	Opossum -	hinapouna.	Taro -	- mekohoni.
Hair -	- qinutu.	Ornament ¹² -	virosino.	Thick -	- situnu.
Hand -	- vonili.	Outrigger	vunga.	Thin -	- sinipe.
Hard -	- vomuno.	float.		Tie v.	- kurotoni.
Head ⁴ -	- rano.	Paddlo -	- avi.	Tongue -	- lepani.
Hear -	- inogo.	Pig -	- purono.	Tooth -	- titio.
Hill -	- miroro.	Plant, tulotia.		Tree -	- vutlono.
Hot -	- nginongino.	sow, etc.		Vine, seroi,	rorose.
House -	- valou.	Pool -	- suporono.	creeper.	
Hurt ⁹ -	- sirani.	Rain -	- mekuhu, ¹³	Water -	- kiloni.
Husband -	langasana.	mekuhuni.		Weed v. ¹⁷ -	pitapia.
Ivory nut ¹⁰ -	elopena.	Red -	- erone.	Weep -	- kiboni.
Kill -	- rinomu tamuta.	Rise from	titiutu.	White -	- vine.
Kindle fire, siku.		lying down		Wind -	- imeime.
make fire.		River -	- siratisi.	Wing -	- siporoni.
Know -	- rimoti.	Road -	- ritani.	Woman -	- kazane.
Land -	- vato vato.	Run -	kula pinani.	Yam -	- mingono.
		quickly ¹⁴			

NOTES ON THE VOCABULARY.

¹ Long handled stone axe, tomahawk. Rov. *karamaho*. ² A belt made of shells or beads. Rov. *butu*. ³ Rov. *kurukuru tapuru*, bird, from *kurukuru* animal, *tapu* to fly. But cf. Kazukuru words for "feather" to fly and hair. ⁴ *Pitapona* = Rov. *gevira* to burn dead refuse after clearing bush. ⁵ To cook in earth oven. Rov. *motua*. ⁶ To cut firewood. Rov. *soko huda*. ⁷ Said of leaves after rain or dew. Rov. *pipirizu*. ⁸ *Rano* is also the name of the peak on the adjoining island of Kolobangara or Duke. ⁹ To hurt inadvertently. Rov. *singana*. ¹⁰ The Ivory nut (*Phyte lephas*). Rov. *edeve*. ¹¹ The *sutuno*, Rov. *suki* is a musical instrument of the nature of a bassoon, but without holes or keys. ¹² Rov. *vinasari* ornament, from *vasari* to adorn. ¹³ *Mekuhu* may mean "a heavy downpour." The expression, "*Mekuhu pa Kazukuru*," "a downpour approaching from Kazukuru," is used only by Kazukuru people at Roviana. ¹⁴ Rov. *tutue haqala*, from *tutue* haste, *haqala* to run. ¹⁵ Rov. *poata* shell ornaments used as currency. ¹⁶ It is doubtful whether *tambuna* is a Kazukuru word. It may be the Rov. *tambuna*, approximately the month of May, but connected with the general term "*tabu*." The equivalent of the Rov. *hope*, *hope-na*, sacred, taboo, in Kazukuru is *manginino*. ¹⁷ Rov. *poki* to weed or clear a garden.

J. H. L. WATERHOUSE : S. H. RAY.

Ægean: Prehistoric.

Benton.

An Unlucky Sword: The Leaf-shaped Blade from Mycenæ. *By Sylvia Benton.* **134**

This sword is very well known; but it has fared so badly, at the hands of printers and archaeologists, that I obtained the permission of the Director of the National Museum at Athens to publish the photograph herewith.

The first publication was by Schliemann,* who states that it was found in the house *south* of the Agora. This gives the outline only.

It appeared next in a drawing I think by Soplus Müller. At any rate Naue† figures it with two incorrect horizontals below the guard joined by a thick semicircle, an unfortunate presentment of a very gradual slope. Its shoulders have begun to grow round and dumpy. This degeneration continued in Daremberg and Saglio.‡ Here the first real hurt was given, for the sword is figured under No. 3603 but described under No. 3602, which happens to be a stabbing sword also from Mycenæ. The late H. R. Hall§ took Daremberg's references for No. 3603 and included them among his leaf-shaped swords. His list thus includes a sword "from Corfu,"|| in which he does not recognize his own Fig. 331d, already placed by him in another category, and 331 a, b, c, stated to be late Mycenaean¶ and "very different from these northern swords."

The question of real importance in late bronze swords is how they were used.** The Ialysos swords and the sword found by Tsountas†† "north of the Agora" mentioned above are all stabbing swords. Tsountas did not recognize this distinction and thought that his two hoards in this region, which included both stabbing and slashing swords and a very late fibula were contemporaneous.

If one wishes to subdivide the later (i.e. the slashing) swords in Greece, the shape of the blade is a bad criterion, for that is affected by the amount of wear sustained by the individual sword, and by the stage reached in the evolution of the type. The shape of the hilt will betray the origin, as Mr. Peake has already noticed. There are two contemporary hilts showing Mycenaean influence, the hooked guard, as in the Ithacan sword mentioned above, and the square guard as in the swords from Mouliana, Grave A. Hall‡‡ figures these but does not classify them.

* Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 144, Fig. 221.

† Name, *Die Vorrömische Schwerter*, Pl. VI. No. 3.

‡ Daremberg and Saglio *Dictionnaire*, under *Gladius*, p. 1601.

§ Hall: *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 256.

|| Probably from Ithaca. See my article in *British School Annual* (Athens), 1929.

¶ Hall: *Op. cit.* Fig. 331 a, b, c.

** For the characteristics of the slashing sword see Myres, *Who were the Greeks*, p. 426.

†† *Eph. Arch.*, 189. Pl. II, No. 5, p. 25. Daremberg and Saglio, p. 1601, Fig. 3602.

‡‡ Hall: *Op. cit.*, Fig. 332 [left]: Tsountas. *Eph. Arch.*, 1904. p. 30, Fig. 7.



Our sword is a fine specimen of the so-called "leaf-shaped sword"* whose origin is Central Europe. It is an early example, for the guards are slightly convex and the blade is almost straight. It swells 1 mm. and, as it is worn, it was probably quite straight when first made. The point is bent, which gives it a false air of convexity in the photograph. It certainly has not the distinct waist sometimes bestowed on it.†

There is a good list of leaf-shaped swords in Greece in Peake‡ and there our sword has shed all its affectations and appears in its own severe and simple lines—but (alas!) when we turn to the reference, 1 and 2 have been transposed and there it is again confused with yet another sword from Mycenæ. SYLVIA BENTON.

Europe: Prehistoric.

Childe.

The Chronological Position of the South Russian Steppe Graves in European Prehistory. By Professor V. Gordon Childe, F.S.A. **135**

In this country attention has been drawn to the interest and importance of the "Copper Age" graves of the Pontic steppes by Myres, Peake and the present writer.¹ But their precise significance in the cultural history of Europe is rendered uncertain by ambiguities as to their relative and absolute age. The intensive study devoted to the subject since 1924 both by Professor A. M. Tallgren and by archæologists in the Soviet Union has not removed these ambiguities. In a recent paper² A. V. Schmidt of Leningrad, who distinguishes three chronological phases, would assign what he calls the Early Kuban phase to the first half of the third millennium B.C. (or earlier), while his Middle Kuban phase would range from 2300 to 1600 B.C.: the Late Kuban phase does not concern us. Professor A. M. Tallgren, on the contrary, in his latest pronouncements,³ while accepting with reservations Schmidt's divisions, would abbreviate the first period (Maikop and the so-called "royal kurgans") very materially and synchronize it with the Danish Passage-Grave epoch, giving it an absolute date rather after 2000 B.C. The later phase (catacomb-graves) would be parallel to the Long Stone Cists of Denmark and occupy the period from 1800-1400. Both these divergent views are based upon general resemblances in the form of South Russian axes, daggers, jewelry, etc. on the one hand to Sumerian and Early Minoan types, on the other to Danish, Silesian, and Middle Minoan forms. The analogies undoubtedly indicate genetic relationships between the various types compared. They no more prove synchronisms than comparable affinities between stone battle-axes from Late Bronze Age barrows in Britain⁴ and those from Danish passage-graves imply a synchronism between the Late Bronze Age here and the second neolithic period in Denmark. Reliable synchronisms cannot be inferred from general similarities between the local products of distant regions, but only from actual imports, or exceptional and exact copies of specialized types.

While the study of the Russian material has not hitherto produced the requisite data, recent excavations in Denmark and Macedonia have, but the results in question have hitherto passed unnoticed by the specialists engaged on Russian problems.

A type, peculiar to South Russia from the Dniepr to the Caspian and assigned by both Schmidt and Tallgren to the later phase of the "Copper Age," the Middle Kuban phase, is the hammer-headed pin of bone or metal, like *Dawn*, Fig. 65. This type with its big, heavy head and stout shaft is very different from and, I believe, unrelated to the crutch-headed pins of Bohemia,⁵ Switzerland,⁶ England⁷ and France⁸, to which Tallgren⁹ has compared it, but may, as I long ago suggested,¹⁰ be

* For a description of the type see Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 113.

† Childe: *The Aryans*, p. 153, No. 3.

‡ Peake: *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*. Pl. XII.

imitated in the silver pin from the "Copper Age" cemetery of Remedello in Upper Italy. In any case a bone hammer-pin, showing all the peculiarities of the South Russian type, was recently found by Rosenberg¹¹ in a passage-grave on Lolland. The pin is almost certainly an import from South Russia; at the worst it is a deliberate and isolated imitation of the Pontic type. It lay in a stratified burial deposit associated with pottery of Sophus Müller's "grand style" belonging to the second of the four phases into which Eckholm (*Reallexikon*) divided the Passage Grave epoch: bell-beakers appear in the third.

It is premature to discuss all the possible implications of this astounding proof of contact between neolithic Denmark and South Russia. Suffice it to say that it establishes a partial synchronism between the Middle Kuban phase in the latter area and the early Passage Grave epoch.

During his excavations at Hagios Mámos in Chalcidice Mr. W. A. Heurtley discovered in the Early Macedonian stratum an unfinished stone battle-axe of peculiar form.¹² It agrees even in small details, such as the ridge along the main axis from the blade to the shaft-hole, with one from a grave at Konstantinovka near Piatigorsk (Terek), which was associated with grave-goods typical of the Middle Kuban phase.¹³ Though we are not here dealing with an actual import, the type is perhaps sufficiently specialized to be chronologically significant. In that case the Middle Kuban phase and the Early Macedonian must overlap. Making all due allowance for the remoteness of Macedonia, Heurtley's dating of the end of Early Macedonian about 2000 B.C. seems convincing. So the Middle Kuban phase would at least begin in the third millennium as suggested by Schmidt. The ceramic and other types assigned to that phase are so varied that it must cover a considerable period of time, but its subdivision still awaits elaboration. South Russia is not therefore at the moment a very reliable link between the Ægean and the Far North. But assuming a synchronism between the pin in Denmark and the axe in Macedonia, we should get a date for the Passage Grave period in Denmark very similar to that which I suggested on quite different grounds seven years ago¹⁴—2200-1800 B.C.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

REFERENCES.

- ¹ *G.J.*, xxviii, 541; *Bronze Age and Celtic World*, 66; *Dawn of European Civilization*, 128.
² *E.S.A.*, iv, 16-21. ³ *M.A.G.W.*, lxi (1931), 92-6; *E.S.A.*, vi, 144.
⁴ *E.g.*, Abereromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, ii, 0.27, 0.28.
⁵ Schráníl, *Studie o vzniku kultury bronzové* p. 45.
⁶ Childe, *Dawn*, Fig. 124, d. ⁷ Abereromby, *op. cit.*, 0.26c.
⁸ Philippe, *Cinque Années de fouilles au Fort-Harrouard*, pl. XVIII.
⁹ *E.S.A.*, ii, 100. ¹⁰ *J.H.S.*, xliii (1923), 79. ¹¹ *Aarbøger*, 1929, 204.
¹² *B.S.A.*, xxix (1927-8), 147, Figs. 26-27; Heurtley (p. 180) notes the South Russian affinities of his axes. ¹³ *E.S.A.*, ii, 81 and Fig. 68, 3. ¹⁴ *Arch.*, lxxiv, 176.

Obituary.

Dalton.

James Edge-Partington, born 6th February, 1854, died 4th November, 1930. By O. M. Dalton.

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By the death of James Edge-Partington the Institute has lost one of its oldest Fellows, in former years active in its service and a frequent contributor to its publications. Before the war he was a regular attendant at the evening meetings, at Council, and in the old rooms in Hanover Square, and Great Russell Street.

Though his family moved from Manchester to London, he retained many friends in the North. He was educated at Rugby, read law, and qualified as a solicitor, though he never practised. In 1879, when twenty-five years of age, he embarked upon his first voyage to the Pacific, which lasted three years. His experiences were

privately printed in 1883 under the title, *Random Rot*, which does little justice to the contents. The discerning reader will find in it shrewd comments on men and things, and first-hand information on life in the Australian colonies and New Zealand. But the pages which have peculiar interest for his anthropological friends reveal the irresponsible traveller in process of conversion into a serious collector.

Two trips from Australia to Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, really determined his future, however little he may have realized it at the time. He "started hunting for curios," perhaps with no other idea than that of hanging trophies on the walls at

home. But the spoils of the first trip were already significant of higher ends; a single case, fifteen feet long, moving shipwards on the shoulders of eight natives, "looked like a huge centipede." He took the first opportunity of returning to the islands and finally despatched to England the nucleus of a remarkable collection. While in Fiji and Samoa, he watched dances and ceremonies, drank *kava* with chiefs, interviewed King Thakombau, and sat down to euchre with Mataafa and his wife, "both of whom played uncommonly good hands." In Australia he was present at corroborees. But for him the supreme attraction lay less in the people than in their things; ethnography rather than anthropology was to be his primary concern.

He returned *via* China, Japan and the United States, arriving home in 1881,



and it was now that he perceived in the harvest which he had gathered something more than a chance assemblage of curios. He extended his reading among books of travel, went to the British Museum and made the acquaintance of Mr. A. W. Franks and Mr. C. H. Read, then responsible for the Ethnographical Collections. This acquaintance, soon ripening into friendship, marked a turning point in his life; it ensured his transformation into a real student of ethnography. Ultimately an arrangement was made by which he worked as a supernumerary in Mr. Frank's Department for a certain number of days in the year. This gave him a status which he much appreciated, while his knowledge of South Sea objects proved of no small advantage to the Museum. When the present writer joined the staff in 1895, Edge-Partington was already established as *amicus curiæ*, and enjoyed a deserved popularity among those with whom he was associated. For some years we worked together, and memory vividly recalls him in the gallery on closed days, surrounded by a multitude of dismounted specimens awaiting rearrangement, while the trusted attendant, Henry Oldland, prepared the cases for their reception. The background of weapons and utensils was inevitably right for him; the photograph on this page, taken in those days by Oldland, shows him in this congenial environment.

Before this time he had begun to publish. In 1890, the first two volumes of his now well-known album had appeared under the title: *Album of the weapons, tools, ornaments, articles of dress, etc., of the natives of the Pacific Islands, drawn and described by James Edge-Partington*. They were privately produced in conjunction with his friend Mr. Charles Heape, and lithographed by J. C. Norbury, of Manchester. Each page contained pen drawings of the objects accompanied by concise descriptions. He had a natural gift for rapid presentation and a quick eye for salient features;

though he did not attempt to rival the professional draughtsman, he achieved his purpose, to illustrate a great number of types and help collectors to identify their specimens. The album had a deserved success, and found its way into Museums all over the world, proving a godsend to many a perplexed curator. In 1895, he issued an additional volume on the same lines. Soon afterwards circumstances enabled him to undertake a second Pacific voyage. He was absent about a year and, after his return, produced a further volume, lithographed by Palmer, Howe & Co., Manchester, 1898. This completed the album; but from 1901 to the second year of the War he was a frequent contributor to MAN, his work consisting chiefly of short descriptive articles and reviews. All these years he had steadily increased his collection by judicious purchases, and regular attendance at sales, especially those at Stevens's in Covent Garden. At the same time he lost no opportunity of adding to his library of books of Pacific travel and ethnography, while he assisted the Museum in securing new acquisitions, himself presenting objects of interest and importance.

The outbreak of the War interrupted the even course of his life. When it was over his relations both with the Institute and the Museum were less constant, though he was often to be seen in Bloomsbury, and in 1925, gave temporary assistance in the registration of the ethnographical collections at the Museum. But he had now permanently made his home at Beaconsfield, and his highly-developed civic sense drew him more and more towards social service in his district. He ceased to collect ethnographical specimens and disposed of his important collection to the Auckland Museum, New Zealand; but he retained his library, and still acquired early prints relating to Australasia. He had always been keenly interested in the expiring or abandoned industries of the country-side, and in the domestic utensils of old days, examples of which he had already deposited in the British Museum. He now devoted his attention more particularly to "bye-gones," from time to time adding to the series; it is hoped that these objects may take their place in a permanent exhibition of folk-industries.

Edge-Partington had the temperament of the keen amateur. He was a man of ready enthusiasm, and would sometimes long to be on with a new scheme before he was off with the old. He would chafe a little over the monotonous tasks so often exacted by research. But when his heart was in a thing, as in the case of his *Album*, he could work with admirable perseverance, and produced results of permanent value. In private life he was a lovable personality, humorous, sociable and full of kindness. His loss will long be felt by all who knew him either as an ethnographer or as a friend.

O. M. DALTON.

Congresses.

Myres.

The Old Congress and the New. A Fourth Report of Negotiations. By Professor John L. Myres, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute: presented to the Council on 16 June, 1931.

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Events have moved rapidly since my Third Report was printed. MAN, 1931, 94.

XI.

In continuation of § v, I have to report that after long delay, the "little committee" appointed at the Portugal Congress in September, 1931, to examine the relations between the *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques* and the *Institut international d'anthropologie* has resolved (as suggested in MAN, 1931, 83, § 1) to address to both bodies the recommendation "de bien vouloir separer entièrement, le plus tôt possible, l'organisation du Congrès de celle de l'Institut, pour que le Congrès reprenne son existence autonome, indépendante, itinérante, selon ses anciens statuts." This report is signed by five of the surviving members of the "little committee," namely, the Marquis de

Baye, the Baron de Loë, MM. Boule, Deonna, Myres. M. Pittard only withholds his signature because he regards as irregular, and therefore invalid, the agreement of 10th October, 1928, which it is now proposed to annul; he has throughout advocated the restoration of the old Congrès to complete independence. From MM. Cazalis de Fondouce and Verneau no replies have been received; but M. Cazalis de Fondouce is reported to be dead, and the President of the *Institut* writes that "toutes ces discussions sont tout à fait byzantines." Unless any previous action is taken by the managers either of the Congrès or of the Institut (which I should have welcomed but do not expect), this report should be submitted to an adjourned meeting of the XV Congrès, to be held in Paris on Sunday, 20th September, 1931.

It is quite in accord with the previous conduct of the *Congrès* by the managers of the *Institut*, that in the circular convening the adjourned meeting the name of the *Congrès* is again misprinted (*sans s*) which under the circumstances is more misleading than ever; (2) that persons who, after having attended last year's Portugal Congress, propose to attend this adjourned meeting of it, are required to *pay over again to the Institut* the membership fee of 40 francs which they have already paid in Portugal last year; (3) that in p. 8 of the circular the business is described as "pour entendre . . . les rapports prévus sur la *collaboration future*" de l'Institut international avec le Congrès et avec les autres Sociétés qui ont "demandé cette *collaboration*" (the italics are mine).

As it has been known to the managers of the Institut, since January last, that the "little committee" desired by a majority of 6 to 2 to *terminate all collaboration* with the Institut, this misrepresentation, dated 15th March, is quite inexcusable.

XII.

But it does not seem now to matter, whatever this September meeting may decide. As was announced in my §§ II and VII, a quite independent movement, which originated in 1929 during the International Congress of Archæology at Barcelona, has resulted in the convocation of an informal conference at Bern on 28th May, 1931, on the personal invitation of Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera of Barcelona. That the conference was of the first importance will be clear from the names (in alphabetical order), of those who were present: MM. T. J. Arne (Stockholm), F. Balodis (Riga), G. Behrens (Mayence), G. Bersu (Frankfort-on-Main), P. Bosch-Gimpera (Barcelona), J. Breuer (Brussels), H. Breuil (Paris), A. W. Brøgger (Oslo), V. G. Childe (Edinburgh), L. Franz (Prague), P. Goessler (Stuttgart), Jakob-Friesen (Hanover), Keller-Tarnuzzer (Frauenfeld), Kleiweg de Zwaan (Amsterdam), J. Kostrzewski (Poznan), R. Lantier (Saint Germain-en-Laye), L. de Marton (Budapest), G. von Merhart (Marburg/Lahn), J. L. Myres (Oxford), H. Obermaier (Madrid), U. Rellini (Rome), L. Reverdin (Geneva), H. Shetelig (Bergen), O. Tschumi (Bern), W. Unverzagt (Berlin), R. Vaufray (Paris), E. Vogt (Zurich), P. Vouga (Neuchâtel). The public authorities of Bern were represented by M. le Conseiller d'Etat Guggisberg, MM. R. Wegeli, Director of the Historical Museum of Bern, and R. Zeller, Vice-director.

Though the invitations were personal, the British archæologists, Professor Gordon Childe and myself, who attended this meeting, were the bearers of a message from our own Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching, to the effect that, if the old Congress were re-established in accordance with its old statutes, and if those statutes were accepted by the Bern meeting, it was hoped that a British invitation might be arranged for the XVI Congress for the summer of 1932. We also conveyed to the Bern meeting the earlier resolution of our Joint Committee (17th March, 1931; printed in MAN, 1931, 62, § v) in favour of a wide general scope for any future Congress. At Bern the discussion was throughout most

cordial. The success of the meeting was ensured by the friendly reception and admirable preparations arranged by Dr. Tschumi, the Director of the Historical Museum, by the welcome offered to the visitors by the President of the Museum Committee, Dr. Guggisberg, and by the conciliatory chairmanship of Dr. Bosch-Gimpera.

Two principal questions were discussed. (1) It was clear that those present preferred a specifically prehistoric Congress to any more general combination of Prehistory with Anthropology and Ethnology. Our Joint Committee's resolution was presented, but it was clearly useless to press it.

(2) Many of those present also expressed a strong preference for a quite fresh Congress, which would begin work forthwith without reference to any previous negotiations or other organizations. The alternative proposal of our own Joint Committee, to recognize the old *Congrès* and adopt its statutes was carefully considered and put to the vote, but found only three supporters. Thereupon the meeting unanimously resolved, on the proposal of its Secretary, M. Lantier, of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, St. Germain-en-Laye, to establish a new *Congrès international des Sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques*. This new Congress will include all the studies which contribute to prehistoric studies, namely, Geology, Palæontology of animals and plants, Anthropology, Ethnology, Folklore, Archaeology, etc., in their applications to pre-history and proto-history. This, as will be obvious, leaves the field quite free for the creation of an independent alternative Congress for general Anthropology and Ethnology; and in conversation I am assured that such a congress would have the goodwill and support of many of those present at Bern.

The statutes adopted at Bern resemble generally those of the old Congress; but the following provisions are new and especially noteworthy:—*Art. 3.* The Congress is managed by a permanent Council consisting of one or two members for each country, chosen in the first instance by the Bern meeting; these may be assisted by one or two secretaries, similarly chosen. Vacancies hereafter are to be filled by the Congress, on nominations by the Council. To represent Britain, Sir Charles Peers, President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and Professor Myres, were invited to accept membership of the Council, with Professor Gordon Childe and Mr. C. F. Hawkes, Secretary of the Royal Archaeological Institute, as secretaries. *Art. 5.* To ensure real continuity with the old *Congrès*, surviving members of its permanent Council are invited to act as an honorary committee, together with other venerable and distinguished persons, and eventually all retired members of the permanent Council. This wise provision should ensure that the Council shall remain alert and energetic. *Art. 6.* In any country which invites the Congress, its members in the permanent Council, with their secretaries, will be the nucleus of the local organizing Committee, with power to co-opt. The Congress itself, when it assembles (*Art. 10*) will confirm and complete this local executive; and before it adjourns (*Art. 7*) will elect the President and General Secretaries of the next Congress, and fix the date and place of meeting. The new Congress is normally to meet every four years (*Art. 1*); this interval permits adjustment and co-operation with certain other congresses concerned with kindred studies.

While British anthropologists and ethnologists will naturally regret the separate organization of prehistoric studies, and British archaeologists the decision not to adopt the statutes and organization of the old Congress, everyone will certainly be gratified by the decision of the Bern meeting to act so promptly and vigorously. Too much time has been wasted in patient negotiations with people who, it must be inferred from their proceedings, did not wish to negotiate. Now it is confidently to be expected that all men of goodwill will rally to the new Congress and ensure for it the support and the success it deserves.

XIII.

There remains only the question, *when* and *where* the next Congress is to meet. In this matter, also, the Bern meeting has made a decision necessary, and easy. If the Bern meeting had accepted the old Congress, there was little doubt of a British invitation for the summer of 1932. It is important that the Congress should meet soon, and next year is also that which gives it the best place in the sequence of other congresses. Accordingly, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Royal Anthropological Institute have agreed to invite the new International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences to hold its first meeting in London at the end of July or the beginning of August, 1932. This invitation is supported by the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching, and by the Royal Archaeological Institute and other learned societies. J. L. MYRES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Labrador.

Hutton.

The Labrador Eskimos, Past and Present. *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. Samuel King Hutton: 19th May, 1931.*

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These Eskimos dwell upon the northernmost five hundred miles of the eastern coast line of the Labrador peninsula, bleak, rocky, storm-swept, with a sea frozen for the greater part of the year, where the people live, for the most part, among snow and ice.

With the general appearance of an Eskimo all are familiar; the name pictures to us a sturdy, squarely built little man, with brown eyes and a mop of black hair, and wearing his characteristic pointed hood.

The Labrador Eskimos are without a written history; we must piece together something of their past in other ways. Firstly, there are spoken traditions, folklore, or tales. For example, if you stand at the northernmost tip of Labrador, in the neighbourhood of Cape Chidley, you may see the chain of the Button Islands stretching away towards Resolution Island, from which, they say, you can see Baffin Island. The Eskimo name for the Button Islands is *Tutjat*, the Stepping Stones, and Resolution Island is *Tutjârluk*, the Big Stepping Stone. These names seem to suggest that the people came from island to island, and so reached Labrador.

Eskimos, like other peoples, have the story of the huge boulder flung from a distance by some supernatural being in anger. In other stories we even get what seem to be glimpses of the visit of the Norsemen to Labrador.

Secondly, there are relics. Here and there, mostly on grassy slopes that rise from sandy beaches, are grassy heaps, mere mounds of turf, but built four-square. They are *iglos*, the deserted homes of Eskimos. Stuck into the wall, and buried in the roots of the coarse grass, you may find flint knives; and beneath the turf of the floor, among the litter of shells, flint arrow-heads, or scrapers made of slate. On stony places overlooking the sea are ancient burying places of the Eskimos. The graves are heaps of stones, piled over the departed to keep the wolves away; beside each grave those people used to hide belongings used in life; beside the hunter the harpoon, the fish-hook, the knife, were laid; beside the woman the lamp, cooking-pot, and scraper of stone or bone; beside the child the little toys. The Eskimos have not long left the Stone Age; there are knives and arrow-heads of flint beside graves in which the bones have not yet mouldered into dust. Thirdly, the Eskimo is slow to change his ways.

Trade and civilization have brought many things; no longer does the hunter carry his bow and arrows; he lies upon the ice armed with a rifle, waiting for the seals. But he still goes to the edge of the ocean ice with his *kajak* (skin canoe) upon his dog-sledge; and paddles about with his ivory-pointed harpoon ready to his hand.

In appearance the Eskimos of to-day are still sturdy, black-haired, brown-eyed people. Though in the summer time their clothing is nondescript, and Europeanized, the native style of dress is much as it always was. The women wear their long-tailed garment (*sillapak*) with capacious hood; though in the presence of strangers they wear skirts, their picturesque trousers are donned on special occasions, otherwise this useful dress for walking through snow and water seems to be dying out; most Eskimo mothers carry their babies in the great hood of their smock. Men have still the pointed hood, and, of course, the sealskin boots; their hair is sufficient covering for head and ears, and in wet or stormy weather they can draw up the hood of their *attigék* smock or dickey.

On the southern part of the coast the Eskimo face seems to be rather longer and thinner than the old type. But the northern face is still broad, with small eyes and high cheek bones, and small broad nose. Complexion is, roughly, light brown, with ruddy cheeks. Eskimo noses seldom or never freeze; but frost-bite on cheeks is common in winter. The Eskimo is still a hunter; he lives on what he catches.

Travel is still by dogs and sledges. The Labrador Eskimos harness each dog on a separate trace; thus the dogs run fanwise, and not one behind the other as in the Alaskan teams. But no two traces are of the same length, and in soft snow the dogs can easily fall into single file along a narrow track. The dog on the longest trace is trained to lead; it obeys the word of command, and the others follow; the whip, a formidable affair with a lash of walrus hide from twenty to thirty feet long, is used to persuade reluctant or lazy dogs—in most cases the sound of the lash is enough!

The old turf *igloo* is but rarely seen now; wooden houses have sprung up, warmed by iron stoves. The snow house, quite temporary, quickly built, and easily replaced, is little used as a residence, only for shelter on journeys, but is seen still in the Nachvak and Chidley districts.

SAMUEL KING HUTTON.

India.

Nayar.

A Corpus of Indian Pottery. *Summary of a communication presented by T. B. Nayar, 2nd June, 1931.*

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The pottery which has gone to the making of this *Corpus* comes from South Indian burials. These resolve themselves into four main types: (1) large urn or jar burial; (2) terracotta sarcophagi; (3) stone-cist or kist-vaen, and (4) the "draw-well" and barrow of the Nilgiri Hills.

The pottery of the Nilgiri Hills type is different from the pottery of the first three types in its material, shape and decoration. The material is coarse, containing large grains of sand. The pots are generally tall and of baluster form; they are wheel-thrown and have either round or conical bases. Firing in most cases is imperfect. There is a yellowish "mica-like" coating on the surface of a few pots. Decoration consists mainly of impressed marks, moulded bands and ribs. Many of the pots have lids fitting and protruding. The tops of these lids are "keyed" to receive pottery figurines of human beings, animals and birds.

The pottery of the first three types of burials shows a certain unity in shape as well as technique. The pots are mostly wheel-thrown and their bases are round. There is a complete absence of handles: spouts occur only in rare instances. The majority of the pots are plain and where there is any decoration it is confined to

the neck and shoulder, and consists of impressed dots or incised bands. There is very little applied decoration, and the painted pottery from Coimbatore is exceptional. The surface finish of the pots is bright and shiny and the colour is grey, buff, red and black. The red in this case is produced by means of a wash of red ochre applied before firing.

In the pottery of the first three types of burials there is a large class comprising bowls, dishes, ring-stands, jar-covers, etc., which is entirely or partly black in colour. This class has three varieties: (1) black inside and out; (2) black inside or out, generally inside; (3) partially black-ware. The characteristics of the partially black-ware are: (a) The inside is black; (b) outside, the black descends from the rim towards the base to a certain length and then stops unevenly, and (c) the black extends all through the thickness of the wall.

India.

Loan Exhibition.

Loan Exhibition of Indian Art, Evening Meeting at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 9th June, 1931. **140**

By invitation of the Burlington Fine Arts Club a Special Meeting was held on 9th June to view the exhibition of Indian Art at their house in Savile Row. Our Fellow, Mr. Codrington, who had been entrusted with a large share of the organizing of the exhibition, was present to answer questions and help in the discussion of knotty points, and the meeting proved to be not only very pleasant but also of much value to those interested in the art of India and, especially, its archæology. The Indian Government had generously lent a considerable number of objects from the famous excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, including examples of all the most significant of them, the privilege of examining which, comfortably and at leisure, was much appreciated.

The amateurs of Indian art had besides a rare opportunity of seeing some fine sculptures, lent also by the Indian Government, of the classical Sanchi and Gupta periods, so little known outside India, and some beautiful products of the medieval period of which, again, few really fine specimens are to be seen in this country; of better known forms of Indian art there was an excellent collection of miniatures of both the Mogul and the Hindu (or "Rajput") schools.

Kharga Oasis.

Caton-Thompson.

Prehistoric Research in the Kharga Oasis. By Miss G. Caton-Thompson. **141**

A summary of the communication presented at the meeting of June 16 has already appeared in MAN, 1931, 91.

REVIEWS.

Antiquity of Man.

Keith.

New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man. By Sir Arthur Keith, M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.S. With frontispiece and 186 illustrations. Published by Williams and Norgate, Ltd. Price 21s. **142**

Every professional and amateur anthropologist will welcome the appearance of a new book by Sir Arthur Keith on Ancient Man. Sir Arthur's previous writings have shown that he can manipulate his pen as skilfully as he can his cranio-metric calipers, and by his fluent narrative

style he has the ability to make a difficult subject interesting and intelligible even to the reader who has the most meagre knowledge of anatomy. Not the least attractive feature in his descriptive accounts is his manner of dealing with the discoveries of the remains of prehistoric man and their interpretation from the historical point of view. Thus, in each case we are first told the story of the initial finding of these remains and learn what were the first impressions of anthropologists, and subsequently we are led through the various stages of discussion

and examination out of which finally emerged the mature opinion of experts regarding their significance in the problem of human evolution. In this way, the reader is made to realise how difficult the interpretation of fragmentary skeletal remains may be, and that in some cases it is really impossible to arrive at any certain conclusions. In this volume, attention is specially paid to the human paleontological discoveries made during the last six or seven years throughout the world, and it thus forms a supplement to the author's previous work on the Antiquity of Man.

As more discoveries of prehistoric man are made, and as biologists develop their conceptions regarding the nature of evolution in general, so it is inevitable that the ideas of anthropologists regarding certain extinct forms of mankind should undergo re-orientation from time to time. Thus, recent work on vertebrate paleontology has led to the conclusion that parallelism in evolution has been much more common than has been realized heretofore. The tendency of the descendants of a common ancestor to evolve along similar lines, apparently independently, necessitates considerable caution in the attempt to construct a phylogenetic tree from a few fragmentary fossils. Structural resemblances are not necessarily indicative of direct genetic relationship.

It is impossible to give here an adequate idea of the great field of anthropological research which Sir Arthur Keith covers in this book. Every page contains matter of interest and importance to the serious student. The author is not inclined to believe that *Australopithecus* is in any way directly connected with human ancestry in spite of its "humanoid" characters, for there is nothing to show that these characters are not merely a corollary of the fact that Man and the Anthropoid Apes have a common inheritance drawn from the same stem. *Australopithecus* is regarded as an offshoot from the anthropoid apo stem, which has developed certain resemblances of a "humanoid" nature as the result of parallelism. In his interesting discussion on *Sinanthropus* Sir Arthur concludes that the features of this fossil link it up with *Pithecanthropus* on the one hand and with the Neanderthaloids on the other. He presumes, therefore, that the Chinese fossil represents a form which was derived from the main line of human evolution at about the time when *Pithecanthropus* and *Homo Neanderthalensis* branched off from common stem. The recent discoveries of palaeolithic man in Europe, though less dramatic than some

of the finds in Asia and Africa, are of the greatest importance and are dealt with in considerable detail. It is interesting to note that they do not confirm the idea held by some anthropologists that extraneous races such as Negroids and Eskimos occupied Europe in palaeolithic times. The astonishing resemblance of the skull of the man of Chancelade to Eskimo skulls had led to the supposition that this individual actually was an Eskimo. Sir Arthur has always combated this view, and the more recent discoveries of Magdalenian man in France have supported his contention. Similarly, there is an increasing opinion that the so-called negroids of Aurignacian times were not true negroids at all. Perhaps the most original interpretation in this work is that concerning the London skull discovered during the excavations for the foundations of the new Lloyd's buildings, and previously described by Elliot-Smith. Sir Arthur believes that the resemblances between this cranial fragment and the Piltdown remains are sufficiently close to warrant the inference that the London Skull represents a direct descendant of *Eoanthropus*. This conclusion has led the author to reconsider his previous conceptions regarding the position of *Eoanthropus* in the family tree of modern man. Further discoveries of early man must be awaited for confirmation of this very interesting suggestion.

We have derived the greatest intellectual enjoyment from reading this monograph on human paleontology. In his introduction, Sir Arthur Keith writes: "Such is the rate of advance we are now making in this branch of knowledge that in five years' time my hand, or another's, will have to add a supplementary volume to the new work." We confidently hope that we shall have the pleasure of reading many supplementary volumes from the pen of the same author.

W. LE GROS CLARK.

Africa: Linguistics. Westermann.

A Study of the Ewe Language. By 143
Diedrich Westermann. Translated
by A. L. Bickford-Smith, M.A. (Cantab.),
late Inspector of Schools, Gold Coast
Colony. 6½ in. x 4½ in.; pp. 258. Oxford
University Press. (London: Humphrey
Milford). 1930. Price 6s.

The importance of the languages which it is now agreed to call Sudanic has begun, within the last few years, to be recognized in this country. It appears to have been usual, in the past, for Europeans, officials or otherwise, to put their trust in interpreters—or in the fact that English is very generally understood (and, after a fashion,

spoken) by the natives. But it becomes increasingly evident that, if English is to become in any real sense the general medium of intercourse, it will ultimately undergo a transformation more drastic even than that which has developed French out of Latin. Whether this will ever come to pass, only time can show; meanwhile there is a strong feeling among educated natives for whom "trade-English" is a very imperfect means of expression, and literary English must usually be more or less artificial, in favour of a return to their own vernaculars. Ewe, the vernacular of what used to be known as the "Slave Coast," but also spoken within the limits of the Gold Coast Colony, has hitherto been treated chiefly by German writers; but, under present arrangements, the need for English handbooks has become imperative. Professor Westermann, the principal authority for this language (whose Ewe-German Dictionary appeared in 1905) has recently (1928) published an Ewe-English Dictionary, and the present work is a very competent translation of his *Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache* (1907). It has been brought up to date by marking the tones—a most important feature in Ewe—and by adopting the script approved by the International Institute for the Study of African Languages and Cultures. The texts at the end of the book (the first two supplied with literal interlinear translations, as well as the free versions following) will be found most useful, not to mention their interest as folk-lore. A. WERNER.

Stone Age. Menghin.

Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit. By O. Menghin. Wien (Anton Schroll), 1931. Pp. 648, 50 plates and 7 maps. 10½ × 7½ in. 40s. bound; 36s. unbound.

I remember coming across a letter among the Lukis MSS. in Guernsey in which a Victorian archaeologist remarked of a recently-published book that "it may be justly said to appertain to the nature of a treatise," and I have since been looking forward to the time when I could "justly say" this of a book myself. The time has certainly come; for Professor Menghin's gigantic volume is a treatise that has for its subject no less a matter than the whole phenomenon of man's Stone Age in the Old World. The book, indeed, is as bulky as its stupendous content demands, and I am glad to say that it is as good as it is enormous; in fact, for thoroughness, system, and insight, it would be hard to find its equal, and I believe that it will obtain entry into the select company of the few truly great anthropological books.

Of course, we have long known Professor Menghin as a master among fellow-inquirers and as the exponent of a new system for the classification and nomenclature of primitive cultures; it is as well, therefore, to warn the reader that in this work he is entirely at the author's mercy and is compelled at least to make himself familiar with these systems if he hopes to view properly the remarkable picture presented to him. He has to learn that "Protolithic" embraces our Lower and Middle Palæolithic and that the "Miolithic" carries us from Moustier to Campigny, and he has to familiarize himself with the "epimiolithic," "protomiolithic" (there is also an "epiprotoneolithic"), and "mixoneolithic"; then he must prepare himself for a new and orderly grouping of cultures into families, as notably the "Flake," "Hand-Axe," and "Bone" culture-groups of the Protolithic and Miolithic, or the "Village," "Town," and "Steppe" culture-groups of the Mixoneolithic, each of which Professor Menghin describes either in geographical sub-groups or as a single geographical whole.

An experiment of this kind is admirable, but whether it will be ultimately successful I hesitate to say; there has been already much argument about it abroad and I am bound to say I shall be surprised if it holds its own. But as Professor Menghin himself is aware, these are difficult days for theorists, and if in ten years' time he finds some of his cultures refuse to appear in their appointed places in this complicated structure of his design, or even if the foundations themselves are at fault, we need not be any the less grateful to him for his attempt to build.

We must expect England to be a very tiny speck in what is nothing less than a world-survey, but even so our early cultures fare worse than I anticipated. Eoliths and "Foxhallian" are dismissed *ex cathedra*, and, setting aside the purely hypothetical Alithic Wood-Culture, Professor Menghin starts us off with a pre-Chelles "flake industry," as represented possibly at Cromer and also at Clacton. As regards this last I feel sure that it is erroneous to date the Clacton industry thus early, and I think it misleading to classify it as a flake-industry pure and simple; it would be much better placed as a link-culture Acheul-Moustier (or local Chelles-Moustier). As to the "Cromerian" (Professor Menghin refers to Cromer A, the Crag Surface flints, as opposed to Cromer B1, B2, B3, the Forest Bed series), we have, undoubtedly, a culture of the requisite pre-Chelles antiquity, but to enrol it as a "flake

industry" and to deny its relationship with the subsequent Chelles-Acheul "hand-axe cultures" can only be done by the rather dubious expedient of picking out likely flakes as accepted artefacts and rejecting the "core-implements" *en bloc*, and this I consider as unfair here as it would be at Clacton. The point is, of course, that Professor Menghin, following Obermaier, rejects our "primitive Chelles" hand-axe culture absolutely, this enabling him to declare that the hand-axe proper is altogether a later arrival in Europe than the flake-implement. I confess I am not prepared to say outright that Professor Menghin is wrong, but I do regret that the author has not made more use of his first-hand knowledge of our English flint-industries; I think they are important enough, Cromer A in particular, to deserve the compliment of his own considered opinion.

Some interesting points stand out as a result of the author's new treatment of familiar material. Thus, the "Bone Cultures" of Wildkirchli and Volden receive unexpected emphasis, and so does the remarkable Dragon Caves of Vättis, with its stone cists and walled compartments for the reception of the trophies of the chase. As to other northern affairs, I am glad to see due honour paid to the Schaalsee and Ahrensburg cultures, which are not so well known in England as they ought to be, but I wish that the author (or, rather, Dr. Schwantes before him) had illustrated some of the fine cores that are characteristic here. The Lyngby culture is rightly regarded as doubtful, and we note with much interest Professor Menghin's attempt to place the difficult Norwegian Komsa culture as a cross between the Schaalsee-Ahrensburg "flake-cultures" and the Campigny "axe-culture."

There is plenty to be said about the author's survey of the New Stone Age which is amazingly comprehensive, but not completely successful. I am afraid I cannot attempt any discussion of it here, however, and it only remains for me to make sure that I have properly explained the scope of Menghin's great book before ending this review. Almost every known manifestation of prehistoric Stone Age life in Europe, Asia, and Africa is marshalled into its appointed place and described in this volume, and in addition there is a long and profound essay on Stone Age cultures in their ethnological aspect, that is to say having regard not merely to tools and weapons, but to the greater matters of bread-winning, religion, speech, and race. This, I think, is the finest part of a noble book and I look forward to seeing what ethnologists will have to say to this brave study. I hope that in this

country we shall not fail to recognize the debt that anthropologists now owe to Professor Menghin. It is true that the main content of this book is archaeological, but I believe that the last section is sufficiently important to put the whole book in the fore-front of anthropological literature, and I cannot imagine any work of the near future that treats of the races of man being complete unless it pays tribute to Professor Menghin's challenging views.

T. D. KENDRICK.

Biological Theory.

The History of Biological Theories. Rádl. 145
By Emmanuel Rádl. Translated
by E. J. Hatfield. London (Milford), 1930.
Pp. 408. 17s. 6d. net.

This is a belated translation of a German book which appeared in 1909. It is really a history of Darwinism up to that date, written especially from the Continental point of view. We learn, for instance, that Germany suffered from a fit of fundamentalism in 1878, when Virchow and others voted to reprimand Hermann Müller, a botanist and secondary school teacher, for introducing evolution into his teaching.

The author has produced a useful history of biological theory in relation to Darwinism within the period mentioned, but like all histories it is written with a particular bias. Although certain additions and alterations have been made for the new edition, the developments in biology since about 1900 have been very sketchily and inadequately dealt with.

The author's bias consists in his anti-Darwinian attitude. Indeed, the book may be regarded as a thoroughgoing attack on Darwin's methods and results. We are told (p. 14) that Darwin was "neither botanist nor zoologist, geologist nor physiologist," and again (p. 18) that he "merely transferred the prevailing English political ideas and applied them to Nature." He gives Haeckel credit for the embryological argument for evolution, although it is well known that this was one of the pillars of Darwin's argument in the "Origin of Species."

The author is evidently not an observer, but relies upon philosophy to sustain his point of view. He lauds the morphological speculations of Goethe and Oken, and believes that men are breaking away from Darwinism to return to similar ideas. Nevertheless, although he writes with evident relish of the "decline of Darwinism" and the "reaction against science," yet he admits (p. 351) that the influence of Darwinism in Germany "was, and still is, very profound." One feels that his onslaughts serve, in fact, to reveal

the immense strength, undiminished in essentials, of the Darwinian position.

Chapter 32 is devoted to Driesch, who is supposed to have brought Darwin low in the philosophic mind. But whatever destructive influence Driesch may have had among philosophers, his conception of entelechy, based on a few embryological experiments and the dangerous method of argument by exclusion, has not proved so impressive to scientific biologists. As a matter of fact, many biologists using the present facts and biological conceptions, would conclude in effect that Driesch's entelechy is unnecessary to explain the phenomena of embryology and regeneration.

How far astray the author may be led when he attempts prediction, can be judged from his remark (p. 231) that in a few decades the interest in cytology will be merely "archæological," when in fact cytology has become the most essential adjunct of genetics in the development of experimental evolution. He even states (p. 238), in complete ignorance of the modern developments, that "modern experimental morphology, the mutation theory, recent work on hybridization, and other experimental lines of work have robbed microscopy of its peculiar importance"!

Although there is nothing more than an occasional reference to mutation, yet we are told (p. 314) that the theories of de Vries and Darwin are "fundamentally different."

There are many similar criticisms that might be made. Nevertheless, the author shows a wide knowledge of biological history. He states, however (p. 32), that Wallace was a spiritualist in his youth, whereas he was a confirmed materialist in his early life, becoming a spiritualist in his older age. Also, Whitman the American zoologist should not be spelled Whitmann, and the behaviourist psychologist is J. B. Watson, not H. Watson. Students of biological history will find this a stimulating work to read, however profoundly they may disagree with many of the statements it contains. R. R. G.

Religion. Robertson Smith: Cook.

The Religion of the Semites. By the late W. Robertson Smith. Third Edition, with an introduction and additional notes by Dr. Stanley A. Cook. London: (Black) 1927. Pp. lxiv, 718. Price 12s. 6d.

The appearance in a third edition of this well-known classic is an event of more than passing interest. On its first publication in 1890 "The Religion of the Semites" was at once recognized as an epoch-making contribution to the critical study of religion, and in the years that followed its influence on the trend of researches into not only Semitic but also primitive religion in general became increasingly apparent. Of those who are

indebted to it one need mention the names of only Frazer, Jevons, Durkheim and Reinach to appreciate how powerful was the stimulus exercised by Robertson Smith upon the development of the anthropological study of religion. In particular, by his emphasis on the essentially social aspects of religious cult he opened up an entirely new field of approach, which came to such brilliant fruition in the work of Durkheim and his followers. Despite the many criticisms which have been levelled against certain of the theories it contains, especially those relating to totemism and the meaning of sacrifice, "The Religion of the Semites" still remains one of the most influential and suggestive studies in the early history of religion.

In the present beautifully produced edition the text of the revised second (1894) edition has very wisely been reprinted without alteration, just as it finally left the hands of its author. But in his Introduction and Additional Notes Dr. Cook has incorporated a vast mass of new material drawn from the results of recent research which admirably supplements and occasionally corrects the original text in such a manner as to bring it fully up to date.

The Introduction (pp. xxvii-lxiv) is devoted primarily to an attempt at indicating what seems to be the genetic connexion between Robertson Smith's life-work as a whole and his theories of religion, and as such makes very illuminating reading. It also attempts in some degree to meet certain of the criticisms which have been advanced against these theories. The discussion is on the whole acutely conducted, and affords an excellent presentation of Robertson Smith's standpoint. In certain respects, however, sufficient allowance does not appear to have been made for the weight of adverse criticism. This applies particularly to the remarks on the famous theory of the totem-sacrament, where Dr. Cook is at some pains to uphold the thesis of the fundamental prevalence of the communion idea in sacrifice. It is very doubtful whether the trend of modern discussions on totemism in any way lends itself to the support of this view. Nor does sufficient consideration seem to have been paid to the important work of Buchanan Gray on "Sacrifice in the Old Testament," where it is shown fairly convincingly that in ancient Hebrew conceptions of sacrifice the significance of the communion idea was relatively slight, and certainly by no means so fundamental as Robertson Smith makes it appear.

But these criticisms of controversial detail can hardly detract from the real excellence of Dr. Cook's work as editor. The Additional Notes in themselves constitute an elaborate and extremely valuable commentary on the text, and bring together in the compact space of some 200 pages all that subsequent research has added to our knowledge of the subjects so penetratingly analysed by Robertson Smith, while the bibliographical references are decidedly helpful. This is certainly the most serviceable edition yet published of one of the great standard works on primitive religion.

I. S.

America, South: Prehistoric. Gardner.

Rock-Paintings of North-West Córdoba. 147
By G. A. Gardner, with the collaboration
of S. E. Gardner. Oxford: at the Clarendon
Press. 84s.

The above is a monograph on the paintings found upon the walls of rock-shelters in the Argentine province of Córdoba. It is the result of six years of investigation and study. About 150 pages of text, with numerous text-figures, are followed by 43 plates illustrating the sites and the various paintings found. Finally, there is a map. The only fault that can be found with the production of this important work is the almost prohibitive price charged for it.

After a short introduction giving a general account of the country where the paintings occur and of what is known of its early Indian inhabitants, comes the detailed description of the sites. Although such descriptions can never make "arm-chair" literature, the illustrations so help that the whole is very readable. An attempt at the classification of the paintings follows, a threefold division into representations of natural objects, geometric signs, and incomprehensible figures being adopted. The first of these is subdivided into human beings (both Indian and European), mammals, birds, reptiles and insects, the proportions at each site being noted. Questions of style and technique are next discussed, and in conclusion, there is a chapter on the meaning, age and authorship of the paintings. As regards their significance the author does not consider that "the idling away of chance" "half-hours" can be accepted as a satisfactory explanation; nor, indeed, will "decoration of the home" alone suffice. In view of the frequency of representations of the sun and of serpents, the probability of a religious meaning can, in some cases, be considered; in other cases—especially where Europeans are figured—the paintings may be the records of important events. The age of the paintings varies considerably. Representations of horsemen can hardly be older than the latter half of the sixteenth century. But these do not occur except at a few localities, and as there is reason to think that the Comechingons had been painting long before the arrival of the Spaniards, much of the art may be of very considerable antiquity. Naturally, any detailed comparison with European or African rock-shelter art groups could hardly lead to any useful conclusions.

Altogether a fine piece of scientific investigation, very well produced. Congratulations to the author and to Mrs. Gardner to whom, with other work, fell the lot of making the numerous tracings. M. C. BURKITT.

Africa, North. Goichon.

La Vie Feminine au Mzab. By A.-M. 148
Goichon. Pp. xv, 348, with 19 plates.
Paris: Librairie Orientaliste. Paul Geuthner,
1927.

In "La Vie Feminine au Mzab," Mlle. Goichon has given us an extremely interesting and valuable book, and one which helps to fill a serious gap in anthropological knowledge. The life of the woman and the part she plays in primitive and semi-civilized society has been

badly neglected in ethnographic literature. Matriarchal theories there have been in plenty, but actual information is scanty.

Mlle. Goichon has much important material to communicate, and she presents it in a way one cannot help but admire. After reading her brief and lucid survey of the history of the Ibadite sect and the foundation and development of the five Mzabite cities, we can enter with her into the houses and follow the life of the women from birth to death without any feeling of bewilderment such as seizes us only too often when we are, so to speak, suddenly dumped by ethnographic writers into the midst of a savage community. Nor have we any temptation to skip her first chapter as dry or unimportant; its extreme relevance to her subject is clear from the beginning.

The customs and observances that occur throughout a woman's life are given very fully, and their relationship to the religion and to the peculiar geographic and economic situation of the Mzabite cities is succinctly brought out. The important part played by women in religion, so unusual among Mohammedan peoples; by religion in the life of the women; and the way this inter-action has contributed to the vitality of Mzabite culture, in fact to the very existence of the five cities, is apparent throughout the book and is fully treated in the chapter on religion. There is also an excellent chapter on magic, in which the author does much more than merely detail magical practices and formulæ, though naturally these are not omitted. Mlle. Goichon shows us the part that magic plays in feminine society, and the effect of the strict doctrines of the Ibadites upon the practice of magic and the social consequences thereof; that is, she shows us something of the psychological and sociological basis of magic and the way that magic is moulded by the form of the society in which it is found.

The book, which has as a sub-title "Etude de Sociologie Musulmane," worthily bears out this claim to be a sociological study, and raises the hope that we may before long have further studies of the same kind from its author's pen. T. J. A. Y.

England. Batten.

English Windmills. Vol. I. Con- 149
taining a history of their origin and
development, with records of mills in Kent,
Surrey and Sussex. By M. I. Batten, on
behalf of the Society for the Protection of
Ancient Buildings. London: The Archi-
tectural Press. 1930. Pp. xviii + 128.
7½" x 4½". 5s. 6d. net.

Windmills and watermills have acquired a value which is antiquarian as well as picturesque. The rarer they become, the higher are they esteemed, and the more do they appeal for protection. But it is not only their uselessness and helplessness—most of those in this country are out of commission—that gives them a claim on us. They represent early steps in the transition of man's mechanisms from dependence on muscular energy, human or animal, to the use of extraneous forces. Moving air and falling water gave him opportunities of employing atmospheric

pressure and the force of gravity for the working of machinery, and in the devising of the details of this he prepared the way for more complex machines which were the first to be driven by steam-engines.

At what period, in what region, and by what steps, the windmill was evolved, cannot be decided, and the first chapter of this book briefly discusses the three chief views that have been put forward. The earliest record of a windmill in Western Europe dates from the last decade of the twelfth century A.D. (in England), but in Seistan, a region of persistent wind, there appear to have been mills, probably with horizontal wheel and vertical spindle, at least 200 years earlier. The second chapter gives details of structure and mechanism of post-mill, tower-mill, and smock-mill, including the forms and working of sails and millstones.

The remainder of the book is occupied by brief descriptions of the mills of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, accompanied by distribution-maps and photographs of existing mills, some 65 in number, most of them in a good state of preservation. From the records on 18th-century maps, and the figures given of the mills still standing, some idea may be gained of the effects of time and progress, even without allowing for mills constructed during the 19th century. For example, the 78 Kentish mills recorded in 1775 are represented by 14 under sail at the present time; the corresponding figures for Sussex are 66 (in 1724) and 7. In recent years destruction has been rapid, and it may be hoped that the Society responsible for the production of this interesting little book will secure the co-operation of the owners of the remaining mills in the work of protection and conservation.

H. S. HARRISON.

East Africa.

Driberg.

The East African Problem. By J. H. Driberg. Pp. 96. 7½ × 5½. Williams and Norgate. **150**

This little book begins with a parallel between the state of Ankole under the feudal system imposed by its Gala conquerors, and the present state of Kenya. In the former case the population was divided into three classes—the rich landowners, their hangers on, and a body of spiritless and degraded serfs, who had lost their own culture without acquiring that of their conquerors. Mr. Driberg thinks that Kenya is tending in the same direction.

In his second chapter he dilates on the dangers of interfering with native customs, especially those concerning land tenure and

the relations between the sexes, and in his last he stresses the need for anthropological education and makes some suggestions for the political future of East Africa.

The book is one for the politician rather than the anthropologist. Let us hope that the politician will read it.

RAGLAN.

Sociology.

Deschamps.

Etat Social des Peuples Sauvages. Paul Deschamps, with a preface by Paul Rivet. Paris, 1930. Pp. 288, with 23 illustrations. Price not stated. **151**

This little volume, which deals with the social and technological conditions of hunting and collecting peoples, is a thoughtful and valuable addition to the literature on the subject. It is most elaborately and carefully indexed, and should prove of great practical use to students. The author shows the development of social conditions under the influence of external and internal stimuli, but he is most careful to separate the different lines of development, and to show how evolution has proceeded along different lines, owing to the differences of the milieu in which the various peoples found themselves placed. Unlike many authors, he is at pains to show the complexity of the subject material of his studies, but with the logical mentality of his own race, he never allows this complexity to cloud or disturb the lucidity of his argument.

L. H. D. B.

Africa.

Campbell.

Wanderings in Central Africa. By Dugald Campbell. Seeley Service & Co. 21s. net. **152**

Mr. Campbell, who describes himself alternatively as F.R.A.I. and Fellow Royal Anthropological Society, is known to us through two other books, "In the Heart of Bantuland" and "On the Trail of the Veiled Tuareg." This book is not written for the benefit of ethnologists, but for a public who wish their reading to be sensational. The student who requires accuracy and purpose may ignore it. There is the usual gossip to which a traveller in Africa is treated by credulous Europeans, the usual description of common-place scenery, the usual grotesque account of native customs, the usual passages in which animals are killed. Frequent sensational references to cannibalism, poisons and secret societies, are painful to a sensitive reader. If Mr. Campbell intends to write more books on Africa he should first read the great travellers, and develop a traveller's conscience if he cannot develop a scientific one.

M. L. J.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Africa, East.

Maguire: Huntingford.

Masai Water-Trees.

SIR,—The interesting article on "The Sacred Tree of Ol Donyesha," MAN, 1931, 43, gives rise to the following comments. **153**

The tree known as *O-reteti* by the Masai is generally accepted as being a species of fig (near *Ficus elegans*, according to Hollis). It is often parasitic and when it has completely encased its host, the resultant duad is always referred to by the Masai as *O-reteti*. Whether

O-reteti is parasitic to only one species of tree, or whether its activities are catholic I have not been able to discover.

These trees are to be met with throughout Masailand and they often hold water. South of the Handeni-Kondoa-Irangi road there is a well-known example of the species from which I have obtained water during the dry season. The trunk in this case is hollow. The water is obviously rain-water and the Masai never suggested that it came from any other

source. Elephants are reported to drink at this tree, the spreading branches of which serve as runnels for the water, which trickles down into the barrel-like interior and is stored there.

In the case of the tree of *Oi Donyesha*, possibly the existence of a spring of greater magnitude than those in the vicinity may account for the presence of water in such comparatively large quantities. The tree is probably hollow and the reservoir within may be in a continual state of overflow.

Whatever the explanation is, the affinity between these trees and water is readily demonstrable to anyone who cares to travel off the beaten track in Masailand and is a remarkable feature of an area about which comparatively little is known, even to-day.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

Tanga, Tanganyika Territory.

SIR,—In MAN, 1931, 43, *O-releteti* refers to the parasitic fig, not to the tree. Most species of fig are more or less sacred in East Africa, especially among Nilo-Hamites. The Masai *O-releteti* is Nandi *simotuet*. Both Masai and Nandi make cord for binding their pigtales from this tree, and the Nandi use its wood for their sacred fires (*korosok*). The sanctity of the Tanganyika site is to be attributed more to the presence of the parasitic fig than to anything else. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Kipkaron, Kenya.

Rhodesia. **The Frobenius Expedition to South Africa.**

Myres.

SIR,—The following extract from the Official Report of Debates of the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia (Vol. 10, No. 30, Thursday, 7th May, 1931) may interest your readers. Captain L. L. Green, D.S.O., M.C., member for the Marandellas District having called attention to an item of expenditure "for the Frobenius expedition," the Colonial Secretary replied as follows (p. 1718-19):

"We were very generous to Dr. Frobenius, and we allocated one of our native commissioners to him and gave him a grant of special leave with pay for six weeks in order to assist him. I regret to say that this assistance and this money which the Hon. Member for Marandellas (Captain Green) referred to, and which was only half the costs, the railways bearing the cost of the other half, has not been requited. Dr. Frobenius entered into an agreement to share and share alike in any finds that were discovered in the course of his investigations, and in the event of dispute over any valuable article to submit the question to arbitration. In breach of this agreement and in violation of the law his total finds were removed from this country and the Government informed after they had been taken away. This breach of the agreement was condoned, and arrangements were made for an independent person in Cape-town to divide the relics. This, I was informed later by Dr. Frobenius, was impracticable, but without waiting to make an alternative agreement, the whole of the relics were removed to Germany. After a long delay a certain number, considered by

Dr. Frobenius to be our share of these relics, have been returned, but Dr. Frobenius has so far refused to hand over or to submit to arbitration the ownership of the single gold find which was stated by him to have been discovered by him in the Colony."

It is to be hoped that this quite exceptional incident may not deter the Government of Southern Rhodesia from the policy of encouragement to scientific research which it has so generously followed hitherto, without distinction of nationality. J. L. MYRES.

Publications Hornblower. Prehistory in the Journal of the Institute.

155

SIR,—It is strange that an idea seems to be creeping abroad that the *Journal* is suffering from an anti-prehistoric complex. Even Dr. Mahr, in MAN, 1931, 113, states his belief that "the Royal Anthropological Institute tries to keep its *Journal* free from the 'prehistoric stuff.'"

That a division between two departments of general Anthropology is growing deep we may learn from the movements abroad concerning International Congresses, echoed loudly by Mr. Burkitt (MAN, 1931, 127), but it is surely not accurate to attribute to the Institute any symptoms of partisanship in this matter. Looking through the eight parts issued during the last four years, we find eleven papers devoted to prehistoric matters and no part without at least one such paper; I will not trouble you with the list of titles, which readers can easily verify.

Prehistorians, perhaps, are not content with this proportion, but equally, doubtless, ethnologists might think that space thus used could be more profitably filled with matter after their own heart; but such is the way of specialists, and we may perhaps be allowed to congratulate the Institute on the balance maintained in the *Journal*—at least in the opinion of one reader with no pretensions to be of either school—by the editing committee. G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Folklore. Hocart. Folklore of Animal Secretions.

SIR,—In a vast subject such as the history of civilization it is inevitable that interest should concentrate on parts of the field to the exclusion of others. Yet none can be neglected, for all are interdependent.

Physiological ideas have received little attention, yet we shall never understand ritual, kinship, and many other subjects apart from ancient ideas on the subject.

For years I have been hoping to follow up an isolated case of relation between spittle and semen. I despair of making further progress without your assistance in broadcasting the inquiry "Are the two connected in men's mind in any part of the world?"

We also want more evidence on the connection between milk and semen. There are very definite statements in the *Vedas*, but I do not know of any elsewhere. Evidence on this point may throw much light on milk ritual, sacred cattle, etc.

A. M. HOCART.

Agriculture.

Threshing Sledges in the Bosphorus Region.

SIR,—Sledges similar to those recently discussed by Mr. Hornell in *MAN*, 1930, 112, were observed in the Bosphorus region last autumn. An example from a farm in the

Forde.

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FIG. 1.—THRESHING SLEDGE: UPPER SIDE.

Baltalinar Valley behind Rumeli Hissar is shown in figs. 1 and 2. The farms in this valley were irrigated from wells; the water, lifted by continuous chains of wooden buckets passing over horse-or-buffalo-driven wheels, was in some instances distributed in wooden aqueducts to the upper levels of the farm land



FIG. 2.—UNDER SIDE SET WITH FLINTS.

(Fig. 3). Both the knapping and setting of the flints was considered a highly skilled trade, and the sledges, I was informed, were not made on the farms nor in the Bosphorus villages, but were obtained from Stamboul, whence the product of a small group of sledge-makers was marketed widely in the Bosphorus and Upper Marmara region. During a journey along the north-eastern shore of the Marmara, threshing with sledges on large circular floors from 50



FIG. 3.—WATERWHEEL AND IRRIGATION TRENCHES.

to 70 feet in diameter was observed at a number of farms and on the outskirts of villages. Sometimes, it appeared, a single floor was used by all the peasants in a village. The sledges were weighted with stone slabs and drawn usually by two horses. Two or more sledges were often in action at one and the same time, the drivers, often women, whipping their horses to a furious pace and narrowly missing each other in their circuit.

C. DARYLL FORDE.

University College, Aberystwyth.

Melanesia.

A Phonetic Correction.

Firth.

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SIR,—In the printing of my article "A Raga Tale," *MAN*, 1930, 46, the letter *g* has been substituted for the phonetic symbol *ŋ* (representing the *ng* sound as in "sing") with results that must appear curious to anyone acquainted with Melanesian languages. *Gagava* on page 60 should be *ŋagava*; while the name *Bwaggi* in every case should be *Bwangi*.

RAYMOND FIRTH.



FIG. 1.—THE SKULL, SEEN FROM THE RIGHT, WITH REMAINS OF CAP BORDERED WITH DENTALIA SHELLS.



FIG. 2.—THE SKULL, SEEN FROM IN FRONT, WITH DISPLACED DENTALIA SHELLS FROM THE HEAD-RESS.



FIG. 3.—THE ENTIRE SKELETON AS FOUND, BURIED IN CONTRACTED POSTURE, WITH ARM ACROSS THE BODY.



FIG. 4.—THE SKULL, SEEN FROM THE BACK: THE LOWER JAW IS FILLED WITH PENDANT BEADS OF BONE.

MESOLITHIC BURIAL AT THE CAVE MUGHARET-EL-SCHOOL, NEAR ATHLIT,
IN PALESTINE.

THE CAVE, AND THE POSITION OF THE BURIAL, ARE SHOWN IN FIGURE 5.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 159-181.

AUGUST, 1931

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Palestine.

With Plate H.

Garrod.

Mesolithic Burials from Caves in Palestine. By Dorothy A. E. Garrod. **159**

The human remains shown in Plate H were found in the spring of the present year in the course of excavations in a series of caves near Athlit, in Palestine, conducted by Miss D. A. E. Garrod on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, with the generous support of Mr. Robert Mond. The following is Miss Garrod's own account of the principal discoveries of this season:—

1. *Mugharet-el-School*, in the Wady-el-Mughara, is being excavated by Mr. Ted McCown, son of the Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. He has done the work excellently, and has found a most interesting Mousterian industry. At the end of May he found the skull and lower jaw of a young child—three or four years old—enclosed in a very hard Mousterian breccia. This he removed in block, and in chipping to reduce the weight of the breccia he

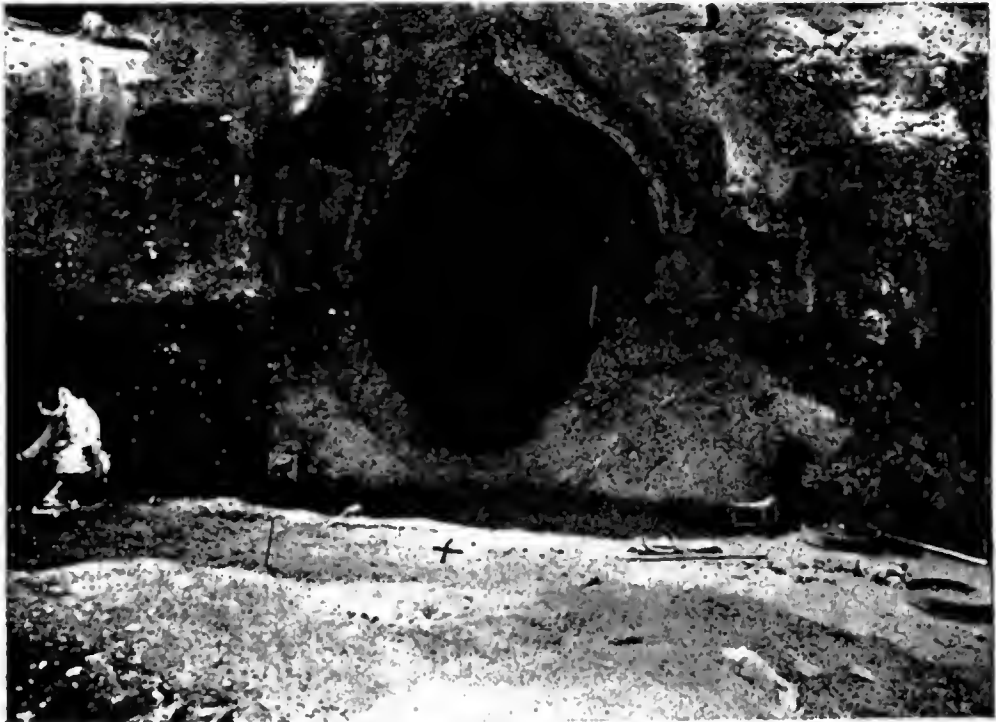


FIG. 5.—THE CAVE MUGHARET-EL-SCHOOL, NEAR ATHLIT, PALESTINE.
+ The cross shows where the mesolithic burial was found.

uncovered the lower end of a child's humerus. It is quite possible that the greater part, or whole, of the skeleton is in the block, so it will be sent to Sir Arthur Keith as it is, to be uncovered in his laboratory.

2. *Mugharet-el-Wad* (figure 5) is the largest of the Wady-el-Mughara group of caves, and on its terrace, close to the rock-cut basins uncovered last year, we have found a series of Mesolithic burials, with circlets and necklaces of shell and bone beads in place. The better-preserved one has been removed in one piece, and will go to the Palestine Museum as an exhibit.

In Plate H are shown (1) the skull from the right side: round the head were remains of a cap strung with *Dentalia* shells; (2) the skull from in front: the lower jaw is full of bone pendant beads, some of which are visible in the photograph; (3) the whole skeleton lying as it was uncovered; (4) the skull from behind.

3. *Mugharet-el-Tabou*, also in the Wady-el-Mughara group, has a purely Mousterian deposit, and promises great depth. The chief interest at present is a well-preserved fauna associated with the Mousterian. So far, the Mousterian fauna of this region is very little known, so this may prove useful.

4. *Mugharet-el-Kabara*; *Zichron Jacob* is the cave, ten miles from the Wady-el-Mughara, which Mr. Turville Petre is excavating. It contains a Mesolithic horizon identical with that of the *Mugharet-el-Wad*, and from this he has bone sickle-blade hafts with animal heads carved at the top, many bone harpoons, and various pieces of carved bone and stone.

Altogether this has been a particularly good season. I have been especially fortunate in having very good helpers, and Mr. Turville Petre, too, has a very valuable colleague in Mrs. Baynes.

As the Palestine Museum is always generous about lending objects for exhibition, I hope to be able to show some of the Mesolithic carvings when I get home.
D. A. E. GARROD.

America, Central.

Burkitt.

The Calendar of Solóma and of Other Indian Towns. By Robert **160**
Burkitt. III. *Continued from* MAN 1930, 80. (I. II.)

The foundation of the Indian calendar is an arrangement like our Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and so on, an arrangement like our week: a perpetual round of a certain number of days, each day with its name. But the Indian week (so to call it) instead of being seven days, is twenty days, and there are twenty names.

What those twenty names are, depends on the language, and on the town: and the differences are innumerable, and may be great. Two Indian names of a day may differ from each other as much as the names of a day in French and English. Not only is there no one and only list of the twenty days, consequently, but it is not possible to produce any single list (as you might wish) that could be taken as representative: any single list of twenty names, that is, that might by itself give you a notion of all the names to be heard.

But if no such thing as a single representative list is possible, what is possible, and easy, is to offer you a representative *double* list.

The names of a day may be many, but not the totally diverse names. And it happens that the number of totally diverse names is never, in my experience, more than two. Sometimes all the existing names of a day are seen to be variations of a single name. But if they are not variations of one name, they will be variations of at most two.

And something else happens. The two totally diverse names—when two exist—will not be found scattered among the towns and languages at random. The two names, distinct in sound, will be distinct also geographically. One of the two will

belong decidedly, or altogether, to the north westerly part of the present country of the calendar : while the other will belong decidedly, or altogether, to the much greater remaining part which you may call the south east. The entirely diverse names of a day, if they exist, will be one (what you may call) north westerly name, and one south easterly. And some single list of twenty names representing the north west, together with some single twenty representing the south east, will be the representative double list, that I said.

How shall I make up such a list ? Among the innumerable names or variations offering, on what plan shall I pick out forty ? Not to invent anything, I will simply take the lists of two actual towns. I will fix on the town of Solóma to represent the north west, and the town of Mómoštenángo to represent the south east. And the names of the twenty days will then, as you listen to one town or the other, be what I will now write down :—



INDIANS GOING TO MARKET.

According to Solóma.	According to Mómoštenángo.	According to Solóma.	According to Mómoštenángo.
watán	akabál	ben	áh
kaná	kat	ish	ish
abák	kan	tsikín	tsikín
tosh	kamé	chabín	ahmák
ch eh	kyeh	kishkáp	noh
lambát	kaníl	chinásh	tihásh
mulú	toh	kak	kawók
eláp	tei	aháw	ahpü
bats	báats	imósh	imósh
yup	o	iak	iak

You are to understand, in this table, that Watán is the same day as Akabál, and so on : names on the same line are names of the same day. Also you understand that the day after Watán is Kaná, and so on : the names are set down as the days come. In the spacing of the table, you see that I have divided the names into sets of five, which will be a help to the eye. And you see that under each town, there are four of those sets of five, making twenty names. The last name in the table, is in both towns Íak : and the next, of course, will be again Watán, or Akabál.

In pronouncing these outlandish names, lay the accent where you see it written. In this name, Watán, for example, you are to understand by the written accent, that the accent of the voice is on the last syllable. In every word of more than one syllable, in the table, the point of accent is in the same way marked.

As for the letters, you may take the simple rule of the Government of India :—pronounce the vowels as in Latin, and the consonants as in English. In this name, Tihásh, for example, the sound of the *T-I* part, will be nearly like our word Tea : while the remainder, the *H-A-S-H*, will seem to be something between our Hash and our Harsh.

The proper sound of the letter *A* will be that of our *A* of Ask. But you will come across two or three cases, in the table, of an *A* a little out of rule. The last name in the table, the name Íak, an Englishman, hearing it, might be disposed to write, Eark, so. The first part of the Indian word, the *I-A* part, sounds very like our word Ear—our word Ear when you make as little as possible of the *R*. The *A* of Íak is the *A* of Ear: that dull sound that is also the *A* of India. And for want of a better letter I have written *A* for that dull sound, not only in the name Íak, but also in this name, Ahpú: and in the first syllable of this name, Aháw: and in both syllables of this name, Ahmák. The part *M-A-K*, in the last name, will seem to be nearly our word Muck.

As for the letter *H*, the combination of *SH* (as you saw in the case of Tihásh) is to be our ordinary *SH*. *CH* is to be our *CH* of Church: and *H* in any other connection, like the *H* of Hot. And no matter if the *H* comes last, as in this name, Toh, or comes as it does in this name, Ahpú, you are to understand that the *H* is to be heard.*

In the name Bats, the sound of the *TS* needs no remark. And the *TS* in this name, Tsi, or in this name, Tsikín, though in a situation strange to us, is no other but that same *TS* sound.

W is our usual *W*, and the *WA* in Watán needs no remark. What may need remark, is the reverse combination, *AW*. In pronouncing this name, Kawók, you may divide the word into one syllable *ka*, and the other *wok*: or into one syllable *kaw*, and the other *ok*: indifferently. The *K-A-W* syllable will be nearly our word Cow. And in this name, Aháw, in the same way, the *H-A-W* will be nearly our word How.

Double letters are to mean what they seem to mean. In this name, Báats, for instance, the double *A* means simply one *A* after another: an *A* of double length.

So much for pronunciation. It has to be said, however, that the Indian languages, and these names of the days, contain several sounds and pronunciations which are not English, nor even European: and which the spelling of my table makes no pretence to mark. What my spelling is supposed to tell you, is not always the precise Indian pronunciation—which even if you heard, you would probably not catch—but a near English imitation: an imitation which an Indian himself would easily recognize, and abundantly near enough for my present purpose.

And without minding niceties of pronunciation, a thing that you catch at once, in the table, is the fact of the great differences, that I said, among the names of the days. The first thing in sight is the difference of Watán and Akabál. And though in the course of the table you see cases like that of Íak, or like that of Bats and Báats, cases where the names are alike, or nearly alike, in the two towns: or cases like that of Cheh and Kyeh, where the two names have at least the remains of likeness: you still see as many or more cases like that of Watán and Akabál—the two names entirely different. You see the necessity of at least a double list.

And if instead of that table of only two towns, you were now to be shown an extended table, exhibiting the names of the days according to all the towns and languages of the existing calendar, you would see with equal clearness that my double list was enough.

At the sight of that extended table, with its sea of names, the impression you would receive would be not now an impression of diversity, so much as of monotony. The multitudinous table would seem to be little more than my double list multitudinously repeated.

* If I were speaking to Scotch people, I might be more precise: and say that the letter *H*, so far as the table went (and aside from *CH* and *SH*), was *not* to be like the *H* of Hot, but like the *CH* of their own word Loch.

The repetition would often not be exact. At the head of the table, the Solóma Watán, for example, might in some town¹ turn its *A*'s into *O*'s, and appear as Wotón. The Mómostenánngo Akabál might turn some of its *A*'s into *O*'s, and appear as Okobál²: or might contract into Akbál,³ or expand into Ahkabál⁴: or might strangely put on a *B*, and appear as Bakabál, or Bakkbál.⁵ At the foot of the table, the name Íak, which to fit the extreme north west⁶ would be imitated as Ik (with no *A* in it), in the extreme south⁷ might strangely put on a *K* sound, and be imitated as Kiak. The name Ahmák might alter its point of accent, and with other alterations become Áama.⁸ Imósh might be variously shortened into Imsh⁹ and into Mosh¹⁰ besides also appearing as Imúsh.¹¹ And so on, indefinitely.

Even within single towns you might find curious or palpable variations. The Solóma Yup, not only elsewhere¹² but sometimes in Solóma itself, may put on an *E*, and be heard as Eyúp. The name Ahpú, you might find that one and the same town, and even one and the same speaker, would sometimes call Ahpú, and sometimes cut down to mere Pu¹³: or oppositely¹⁴, sometimes call Ahpú, and sometimes encrest a syllable on, and call Hunahpú.

But with these and all other variations that in the extended table you might find, what in my belief you would *not* find would be a single completely new name. No matter among what towns you might pursue the name of the day Íak, for example, or among what mutually unintelligible languages, the name would never be anything but some variation of the one name Íak. Variations of the Solóma Watán, as you went about, might give way to variations of the Mómostenánngo Akabál: but there would be no new *third* name. And so on. There would be no name that there was not already some image of in the short table that you have seen.

And not only would you find that that table, in its way, represented all the names existing,—you would find that it correctly discriminated north west and south east. If the extended table, that I have supposed, was arranged geographically, the correctness of the discrimination would be at once visible. On the one hand, you would see a small north westerly body of lists, all (with superficial variations) on the model of Solóma: and on the other hand, a many times more numerous south easterly body of lists, all on the greatly different model of Mómostenánngo: and almost nothing intermediat.

The great difference—the chasm—between the north westerly and south easterly models is partly bridged, of course, by the fact of such names as Íak, and Cheh, and so on: names, that with whatever variation, the two models have in common. And in your travels, or in the extended table, you might find that you could slightly widen that bridge. The Mómostenánngo name E, for instance, and the Solóma name Yup, have the appearance of mutual strangers: yet the various Solóma name of Eyúp, that I have mentioned, may suggest an original kindred.

And besides such a thing as an intermediat name, you might find the curiosity of a sort of intermediat list. On the geographical border between north west and south east you might find more than one town* with the generality of its day names north western names, and yet with a few names *not* north western but south eastern—you might find a mongrel list. But the case would be rare. The rule, even among border towns, is that the list of the days is either one model or the other, either north western or south eastern, punctually as the table shows.

¹ As in Coatán. ² As in Chichicastenango. ³ So in Ahuacatán. ⁴ So in Tactic.

⁵ So in Cantel, Nihualá, and elsewhere. ⁶ The Chuh language. ⁷ As in Atitlán. ⁸ So in Nebaj. ⁹ As often in Mam towns. ¹⁰ So in Saint Christophers, of the Verapaz: so in Atitlán.

¹¹ So in Nebaj: so in Chichicastenango. ¹² As in Ixtatán. ¹³ So in Chajul. ¹⁴ So in Chajul, Momostenango, and many places.

* As Jacaltenango.—I may say, that I suppose that readers of these footnotes will be acquainted with Spanish and creole orthography, and need no guide to the pronunciation.

And the table represents what is ordinary, I might add, not only in the separation of north west and south east, but as nearly as such a thing is possible, in the particular choice of names. The Solóma and Mómostenángo forms of the names are not erratic. So far from being erratic, so far from being odd or extreme forms, they are in the main as near to being what you might call mean forms, as near to what you might call typical forms (each in its own north westerly or south easterly kind) as the forms that would be had from any two towns that might be picked out.

And if I have brought to your sight some few of the many forms outside the table, it will now be, as a rule, to notice such forms no more. A town may alter the name of Watán, or alter the name of Akabál, but I shall usually, myself, keep on saying Watán, or Akabál. I shall not, in speaking of the town, think it necessary to pester you with the alteration. In the chorus of towns I shall hear only two voices, the voice of Solóma and the voice of Mómostenángo, and call the names of the days according to the imitations of the table.

ROBERT BURKITT.

Britain : Physical.

Buxton.

The Helston Calvarium. By *L. H. Dudley Buxton, M.A.*

161

In arranging the collection of British crania in the Department of Human Anatomy, Oxford, my attention was drawn to a calvarium labelled E 11a/1H.A. with the addition in an earlier hand, "Found in a Tin Mine in Cornwall five hundred feet below the Surface by Capt. Hankin 1794 who sent it to me." Apart from the features of interest the calvarium deserved attention as being the earliest recorded specimen collected which we possessed.

Most conveniently the dossier of the specimen had been filed inside. I print them below in extenso.

Document (1). Still retaining original seal and addressed—Heavyside ESQ.

"In a Tin Mine, in Cornwall within a few miles of Falmouth where I still am.

"Dear Sir, you will I am sure excuse my intruding you what to me has been the wonder of the Day, from the curiosity of the situation in which it was found (it will I hope call your attention) in a new shaft where human invention had never dared before dive (at least five hundred feet below the surface of the country) the enclosed skull was discovered in my presence, and tho' I have been some time collecting for the honour of a place in your Museum I have not left (sic) a moment escape my sending it to you; as the curiosity of the NASAL as well as the strong marks in general about it, seem to demand some extraordinary examination that it is Antidiluvian I HAVE NOT A DOUBT and that in a Tin Mine I may not seem as antidiluvian as the skull itself, let me add that

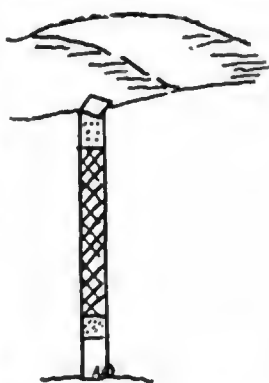


FIG. 1.

"gratitude bids me subscribe myself yours sincerely D. P. Hankin." Added in another hand, "27th March 1794, Captain in the West York Militia quartered at Falmouth." Document 2. Addressed to Mr. Gardner 16, Foly Place, London, Nov. 23d, 1802. "Dear Sir, In answer to your question respecting the position of the shaft, I must refer you to the sketch on the other side of this letter, [Fig. 1]

" which tho' *in great part from memory* I am ascertain to be tolerably correct, the nature of the soil as to the strata I have marked as far as I could see it: as the shaft was a square one and kept up with timber work interlined with brush wood, I could only see the Top and Bottom, the latter of which was bare and only going to be cover'd when I went down to which act I was tempted by some *fossil wood and peices* (sic) of *Stag's Horn* that had come to the surface with the last bucket of earth that had been sent up, but I did not find any animal's bones, sufficiently sound to bear examination, being too rotten to carry to light at the mouth of the shaft, I had no conception at the time I was at the bottom of the shaft that the lump I had picked out of the side and at the bottom of the shaft (*as marked in the sketch*) was a skull or a bone of any kind,— I was looking for fossils for Dr. Hemming then giving *Chemical Lectures in Clifford Street, Bond Street*, and from its appearance by candle light when I found it at the bottom of the shaft, took it to be a large lump of mundick cover'd in parts with quartz and some small portions of sparr, which when I came more minutely to examine it, I found adhering to a lump of blue Clay (the soil it laid in,) and which I could easily pull to pieces and in so doing I discovered the skull in question, partaking then as it now does only more strongly so of all the earths and minerals that now adhere to and are visible in many parts of the bore.

" If any further doubts should arise I could procure you many portion of skulls (but more perfect) found in other parts of the same County and found at still greater depths than yours in question. Was I not crippled with the gout in my hands and fingers you should have had this answer long ago and in a more perfect and elaborate state; should you have any further enquiries you wish to make, I will get them authenticated by some of the most respectable medical men in the county of Cornwall, who I know have large collections of animals and human bones found equally deep though not in so good a state of preservation as the skull it was my good fortune to *stumble upon unlooked for unexpectedly*, and staggered my belief as much as it ever can do, the most determined *French Infidel* that was ever determined by Theory founded upon fashionable infidelity and a predetermination to disbelieve everything that ought, from the oldest record, and best authenticated evidence of antiquity, to be most religiously relied upon as facts.

" Begging you to excuse the vile scrawl of a Gouty invalid and resting assured that I will do myself the honor of waiting upon you upon monday noxt, I remain, my Dear Sir, most truly yours D. P. Hankin." The next page contains the note N.B. No fire engine was erected at the time I was there, the shaft was kept dry with a succession of buckets." Then follows sketch and note "The bottom of the shaft loose sand and pebbles of Tin, mundick, *fossil wood* and vegetable and marine productions 7 miles from sea."

Document 3. In the same hand but paper has a different watermark. The sheet is divided into two. On the left hand side are written "Cuvrier's questions." The answers which explain the questions are on the other side. 1. "The position of the shaft." Between Falmouth and Market Jew (I think in the Parish of Helston) in Cornwall. 2. Top soil light sandy mould full of white gritt bottom blue clay. 3. "If other fossils were found". Pieces of Stags Horn, Wood, and appearance of cylindrical bones, too rotten to bear examination. 4. "The nature of the country". Very Hilly, Barren bare country laying very high above the level of the sea, the shaft at the edge of the declivity.

5. "Whether a 'fire-engine' was used". At the time I was there the prospect as to a valuable mine was but a dreary one, and the proprietors (which was a subscription) were then debating whether it would pay for a fire engine or not.

The final document is covering letter from Mr. Gardner to Dr. Buckland dated from 16 Foley Place Oct 28 1829, sending the skull from "the Museum of the late Mr. Heavyside".

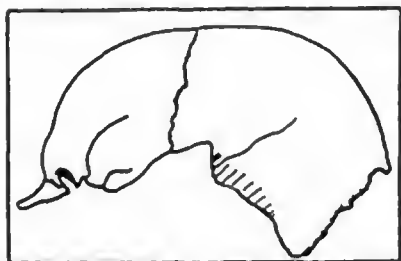


FIG. 2.

Certain features in this account seem to call for special comment. Five hundred feet below the surface of the country is at first sight rather staggering, but as the calvarium came from the tin bearing stratum a fair interpretation seems to be "the surface of the plateau," which would be a fair estimate. It is unlikely that any one would have sunk a shaft 500 feet deep to work tin in Cornwall. I can find no record

of the workings, which are not quoted in the geological survey memoir.

Secondly there seems little doubt that the cranium lay in its original position just above the tin bearing stratum, and the buckets which contained remains of the submerged forest were the reason for the gallant Captain descending the shaft.

The calvarium itself is slightly fossilized and is obviously of some antiquity, it is of a fawn colour and appears to have belonged to an old man. It presents no unusual features, the length from the glabella to the lambda is 182mm, and the breadth of such parts as survives is 145mm. It seems probable but by no means certain that the skull was originally mesocephalic. It does not seem to differ essentially from other Cornish skulls from tin mines quoted by Sir Arthur Keith ("Antiquity of Man," p. 55ff). The calvarium may be at least tentatively associated then with the group which Sir Arthur has called "the people of the submerged forest" i.e. of Neolithic date. It is, however, essentially modern in shape and were it not for its condition might easily escape notice in any large collection of English crania, but its special interest lies in its history and in the fact that it has not suffered the fate of the Seunen cranium, and is therefore available for study in our Museum.

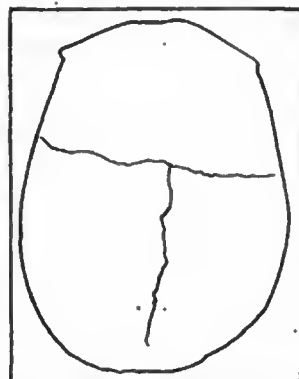


FIG. 3

My best thanks are due to Mr. Talbot Rice for making outline tracings of the calvarium with a Martin's diagraph, from which I have prepared my drawings, and to Dr. K. S. Sandford for discussing with me the geological questions raised.

L. H. D. BUXTON.

Melanesia: Sociology.

Rentoul.

Physiological Paternity and the Trobrianders. By Alex. C. Rentoul, District Officer, Losuia, Trobriand Islands.

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It is a far cry from London to Losuia in the Trobriand Islands; hence it was not until late in the year that the writer had an opportunity of reading in the *Spectator* of 16th March 1929 a most interesting review of Dr. Malinowski's "Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia," over the name of J. H. Driberg, in which the reviewer expressed some difficulty in completely accepting Malinowski's statements that amongst the Trobrianders physiological atherhood is unknown, and no tie or kinship is supposed to exist between father and child, except that between a mother's husband and a wife's child.

An experience of sixteen years amongst various Papuan tribes, the last few being spent amongst the peoples of Western Melanesia and in

the Trobriand Group itself, has convinced me of the incorrectness of the statements, and in this short paper I propose to do my best to prove my contention.

It has been my privilege as a District Officer amongst these most interesting people to come into close touch with their domestic problems. Many of the Trobrianders who have appeared before me have been suffering under the stress of some domestic upheaval, often in the form of adultery, criminal behaviour or sudden death on the part of husband or wife, and under such circumstances, I take it, one might be in a more advantageous position for analysing their true feelings and relationship, than would a visiting anthropologist, however gifted.

On many occasions in Court for Native Matters I have seen Trobriand fathers convicted of adultery pleading with undisguised anguish for the custody of their sons, after the mother has according to custom stated her intention of returning with her children to her own people. In such cases the grief of the repentant father is distressing.

I am aware that Dr. Malinowski admits the remarkable affection to which I allude, and I would take that admission as supporting my premises that the facts of paternity are known to these people, and that the love of the male parent for the offspring is not unconnected with the pride of possession and a realisation of *authorship*—as is the case with most normal fathers.

Further, my experience amongst the Trobrianders has shown me that these people are perfectly aware of the physiological paternity of animals—witness their habit of lending and exchanging pigs in order to introduce new blood into their village herds. It is possible that through the coming of white settlers they have learnt the superiority of the Berkshire strain, but the fact remains that they are and were quite aware how the new strain might be introduced, and seized upon the opportunity so to do. Their management and exchange of fowls and other domestic possessions must also be based on the same knowledge.

Dr. Malinowski has asserted that no contraceptives are known to the natives of the Trobriands. Be that as it may, I have been informed by many independent and intelligent natives that the female of the species is specially endowed or gifted with ejaculatory powers, which may be called upon after an act of coition to *expel the male seed*. It is understandable that such powers might be increased by use and practice, and I am satisfied that such a method does exist.

It would appear from evidence that I have been able to collate on the spot that the precaution referred to is taken by single girls to prevent conception, and also by married women who do not wish to become pregnant.

If further proof be required, surely it is contained in Dr. Malinowski's own admission in his writings that sexual continence is required of a mother during the period of lactation in order to prevent too early a re-conception. Surely that fact alone points to some more than rudimentary knowledge of physiological process.

It may be suggested that owing to the advance of civilization a new position has been set up in the Trobriand Isles since Dr. Malinowski's visit in 1920. Without enlarging on the subject in this paper, I feel sure that if Dr. Malinowski should visit the Trobriands to-day, he would be astonished to find how little affected are the minds of these intelligent natives by the impact of such civilization as has reached them. It is true that on account of the remoteness of the Group the impact has so far not been great.

I maintain that the influence of the few whites, represented by Government, Mission and traders, in the dissemination of the truths of physiological paternity has been not only negligible, but that the knowledge of that process has always existed, as it has also in the D'Entrecasteaux Group and other islands with which the Trobrianders have had dealings in connection with the Kula circle of wealth.

The information which I would now submit is that, together with this practical knowledge of physiological paternity, there has always existed the magico-religious explanation, which is perhaps not unknown to Dr. Malinowski.

As is the case with most native-told narratives, the various accounts differ in minor detail, but this is the Story of Birth, as it is believed by intelligent Trobrianders as thoroughly as a modern congregation would believe the curate's shy announcement that during the night the angels had brought him a little son!

The story goes that when a husband and wife desire to have a child, they must come into accord by both wishing for such an outcome of their union. Presently the *Baloma* from the Spirit Land of *Tuma* will visit the woman and place upon her forehead a miniature babe, so tiny that it can be hardly seen. The babe descending the body of the mother will visit each breast in turn for nourishment, then descending further will enter the womb, where it will remain until the day of its birth. In this process the father's part is simply "to keep open the way" by sexual intercourse. It is recognised, even in this magico-religious account, that without the father's services, the visit of the spirit would not have eventuated.

The Trobrianders' every action is guided by ceremony, as Dr. Malinowski has pointed out in his inimitable studies. There are magic rites associated with canoes, gardens, fishing and many other magics. Hence it would appear natural that an event which even highly cultured people like to regard as the Miracle of Birth should also be surrounded by mystery. Nevertheless it is also evident that the cruder facts of physiological paternity are known to them, and the knowledge used to their own advantage. The Trobrianders are the most immoral, or rather unmoral, of peoples, and at the same time the most ceremonious and refined savages I have ever met with in a sixteen years' experience. For the reasons pointed out above, I have not the slightest doubt that they are fully aware of the main ideas of physiological paternity, and they would be the first to resent the suggestion of ignorance.

I should also like to make some comment regarding Dr. Malinowski's statement that a man returning after a long absence would not suspect infidelity should he find his wife pregnant, owing to his alleged ignorance of physiological paternity.

I can find no evidence to support this statement. As a matter of fact, whether we accept the Trobrianders' knowledge of the crude facts of physiological paternity, which I have endeavoured to prove, or rely on the magico-religious account, in both it is clear to the mind of the Trobriander that the presence and action of the father is necessary where conception is to take place. Their life-experience has given them a fairly accurate idea of the period of gestation, they are remarkable timekeepers and can count the number of moons to harvest long before that event takes place. It is inconceivable, therefore, that a man after an absence of two years would not be surprised at the appearance of a babe a month after his return; in such an event the average Trobriander would assuredly express his feelings with direct action.

ALEX. C. RENTOUL.

Montenegro.

Durham.

Preservation of Pedigrees and Commemoration of Ancestors in Montenegro. By Miss M. E. Durham.

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In his book "Who are the Greeks?" Professor Myres quotes me (note p. 577.) as having said that the Albanians recite their pedigrees in church on All Souls' Day. I think he must have confused me with some one else. I never came across such a custom. The Christian Albanians I knew were all Roman Catholics, and I doubt if the Catholic Church would permit such an innovation.

I was only once at church on All Souls' Day in Albania: then attended the service in the Cathedral, along with the family of my old and faithful guide Shantoya.

He was a strict observer of Albanian customs, and I heard nothing at all about pedigrees then.

In Montenegro on the contrary a service of this sort does take place. But it is not on the Latin All Souls' Day in November. It takes place early in the year before Easter and shifts with Easter. It is called *Zadushna Subota*—"For Souls" Saturday. I was present at that, in church. Only men were there, except myself. Each head of a house handed a written list of his ancestors to the priest (*papa*), who read out the complete list. This list is called *chitula* (? from *chitati* to read). The persons, whose names are read, are prayed for. It occurs to me that a feast of the dead early in the year may be the remains of the Roman *Parentalia* which took place in February. I was living in my Montenegrin guide's hut when this took place. He prepared a table in his hut in the evening, stuck lighted tapers round the edge and put bread and wine on it and left it there all the evening. The food I presume was for the spirits of the dead. All he knew about it was that it was the proper thing to do on *Zadushna Subota*.

I am told by a Herzegovinian friend that the reading of the *chitula* in church is not a Serbian custom, but only Montenegrin and Herzegovinian.

In the Northern tribes of Albania, all the men know their pedigrees—or knew them when I was there. I did not know then that the pedigrees were of any value, or I could have collected plenty. They go back mostly to thirteen or fourteen generations. Owing to early marriage, generations are rather short.

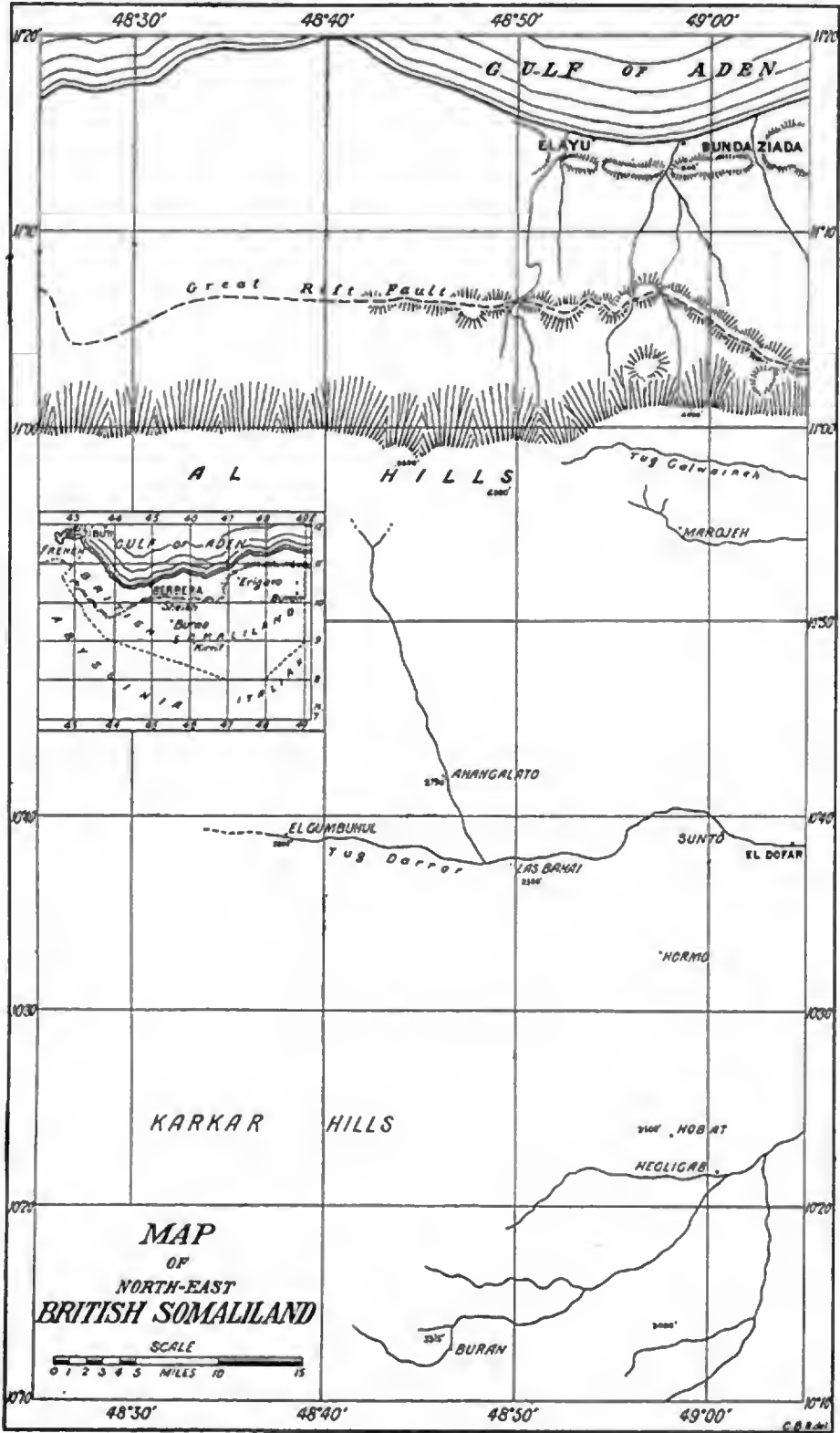
Baron Nopcsa collected a lot and told me he had one going back to the fourteenth century. In this district—and formerly in Montenegro—knowledge of pedigree is most important to prevent the possibility of committing incest by intermarrying with someone descended from the same ancestor. I expect that that was at first the sole object of preserving these pedigrees, and that praying for the names therein was a later and Christian idea.

Dom Ernesto Cozzy, who was for some 15 years a mountain priest in Albania and afterwards Delegato Apostolico for Albania, told me that he had seen places at table, and food, reserved for the dead in North Albanian tribesmen's houses. I never saw it myself, and I think if there had been a custom of reciting pedigrees in church he would have told me. I do not think the custom exists in North Albania. It may, among the Orthodox in S. Albania; but I never lived among the Orthodox Albanians and know nothing about them. Perhaps they have a feast of the dead early in the year?

Incidentally the Montenegrin pedigree matter is of interest for it goes to prove a point of which I am more and more certain, viz.:—that the Montenegrins are not Slavs, but Albanian and Vlach by origin.

So far as I know the reading of the pedigrees in church is a Montenegrin, *not* a Serbian custom. Whether it is a custom in the Orthodox churches in South Albania I do not know. Possibly not, for they were till recently mainly staffed by Greek priests and under Greek Bishops; whereas until 1918, when the Serbians annihilated it, the Montenegrins had an autocephalous Montenegrin Church which possibly carried on some traditions of its own. This is mere surmise on my part; but the keeping of pedigrees so zealously certainly indicates always strict marriage laws; in this case, exogamy.

When I was in Njegushi in Montenegro, I was told of a couple who were just about to be married, of course with consent of girl's parents. The young man was from Bosnia. At the eleventh hour it was discovered he was her second cousin, his grandfather having emigrated. The match was at once broken off, and the girl was married against her will to another man, and the unlucky bridegroom left the country. I expressed sympathy with, and sorrow for, the couple. My informants were astounded: "On the contrary we should be thankful the family had been saved from incest. We saw how necessary it is to keep pedigrees." M. E. DURHAM.



Somaliland: Prehistoric.

Burkitt: Barrington Brown.

Stone Implements from British Somaliland. By M. C. Burkitt and C. Barrington Brown. **164**

An important series of stone implements from Somaliland, which were collected by Mr. C. Barrington Brown, are now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge. The implements come from various localities, and different types of tools (as well as different states of preservation) can be distinguished among the material from each of the sites. Should really large collections ever be made from these and other parts of the country it is quite possible that the different states of preservation will prove significant, and that certain types of tools at a given site will be found to show more or less the same condition of patination. At present, however, there are not enough specimens to enable one to do more than suggest the possible existence of four series. In the first of these the tools are deeply patinated and are mahogany or even black in colour. In the second they are heavily patinated white or cream, being either lustrous or matt;* on the whole, it is Mousterian-like types that are found in these two series. The third series consists of specimens that are of a mottled cream or pinkish colour, and which often show a considerable gloss. On typological grounds these would seem to belong to a somewhat later age, probably Late Palæolithic. Finally there are a number of flakes and rough serapers, etc., which are hardly patinated at all. This last series is, in our opinion, the most modern of the four. It must be confessed, however, that these varieties of patina tend to grade somewhat into one another.

It seems best now to let Mr. Barrington Brown speak for himself as to the actual finding of the specimens, and afterwards to add a description of the tools figured which have been selected to illustrate the various types appearing in the first three series. Tools of the unpatinated and hardly patinated series have not been figured: they resemble the large numbers of implements, often somewhat wind-worn, which are so common throughout North Africa and probably belong to the Neolithic period of those regions.

"As geological member of the Anglo-Italian Boundary Commission of Somaliland from August, 1929 to January, 1930, I had the opportunity of collecting artefacts, in the course of my field work along the 49th meridian from 10°10'S. to 11°17'S. on the sea coast.

"On the journey from Berbera, through Sheikh, Kirrit, Adad and Erigavo, to the first base at Buran (16 miles west of the 49th meridian at lat. 10°13') I found simple flakes at Sheikh and Erigavo. In the Buran ravine, on the terraces, are vast numbers of flakes, though very few finished implements. It is hardly possible to take two paces without stepping on a flake. On the plateau and on the flat-topped outlying hills flakes are also fairly numerous. On one small hill (10°14'18"S. and 48°49'15"E.) flakes form an almost continuous cover on the flat top some 100 sq. yds. in area: there are two generations of manufacture, for many are more patinated than others.

"At Hobat (10°23'40"S. and 48°57'50"E.) large flakes and cores of the dark weathering chert are very abundant. At Hormo, 1 mile to the N.N.W. of the triangulation station 2422 (10°32'42"S. and 48°59'08"E.), on a terrace north of the stream bed, occurs what is about the best assemblage of implements anywhere found. Northwards along the meridian flakes were found sporadically until the Al Hills were reached at lat. 10°50'S. These hills rise to some 6,000 ft. in this area, and present a precipitous scarp to the sea, from which it is separated by a coastal plain, about 16 miles wide, of little relief other than that of some narrow

* This is, too, the patina usually found on coups de poing of a late type which can be seen labelled "Somaliland" in various museum collections.

ridges, one along the shore and another marking the great Rift Fault. On the Al Hills hardly a flake was found: but on the coastal plain flakes and implements occur in fair number.

"The material used is mostly a chert, of a yellowish, honey colour, which patinates to either a white or black tint. This chert occurs abundantly as large concretions in the Eocene limestones which form the greater part of the elevated plateau (at 2,000 to 3,500 ft.) constituting a great part of the interior of British Somaliland. A thick bed of gypsum and anhydrite outcrops over considerable areas on the plateau: no flakes were found on these areas. It is noticeable that white quartz from veins which outcrop in slates at the foot of the scarp is utilized to a small extent on the coastal plain."

DESCRIPTION OF TOOLS FIGURED.

1. A Disc. Deep mahogany patina. A considerable portion of the under surface is that of the natural piece of tabular flint from which the tool is made. The circumference is irregular and sharp.

2. A Point. Deep mahogany patina. A flake showing on the under surface a bulb of percussion and a prepared striking platform. The sides of the tool are sharp, but little trimmed.

3. A Tortoise-point. Lustrous cream patina. A squat implement flaked all over. Conforms perfectly to the Egyptian tool-type of this name described by Professor Seligman.

4. Tortoise Core. White, matt patina with patches of a slightly purplish hue. The under surface is largely the natural crust of the original chert nodule. The trimming, determining the levallois flake which has been struck off, is bold. The object is as typical a tortoise core as any from Baker's Hole.

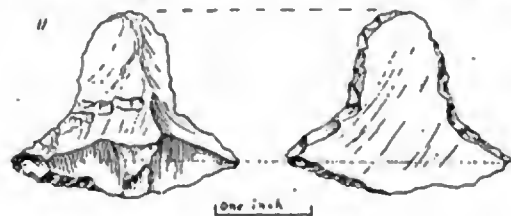
5. Levallois Flake. Creamish-white, matt patina, somewhat pitted by subsequent weathering. Tool thin for its size. Under surface a flake surface with prominent bulb and carefully prepared striking platform. Edges sharp but untrimmed.

6. End-scraper. Somewhat patinated lustrous specimen of a pinkish colour. Under surface a flake surface with bulb and small unfacetted striking platform present. Working edge neatly trimmed.

7. Double-ended Scraper. Cream coloured, lustrous patina with a pinkish tinge. Under surface a flake surface with no trace of a bulb present. Neatly trimmed working edges: Tool similar to many Upper Palaeolithic specimens in Europe, etc.

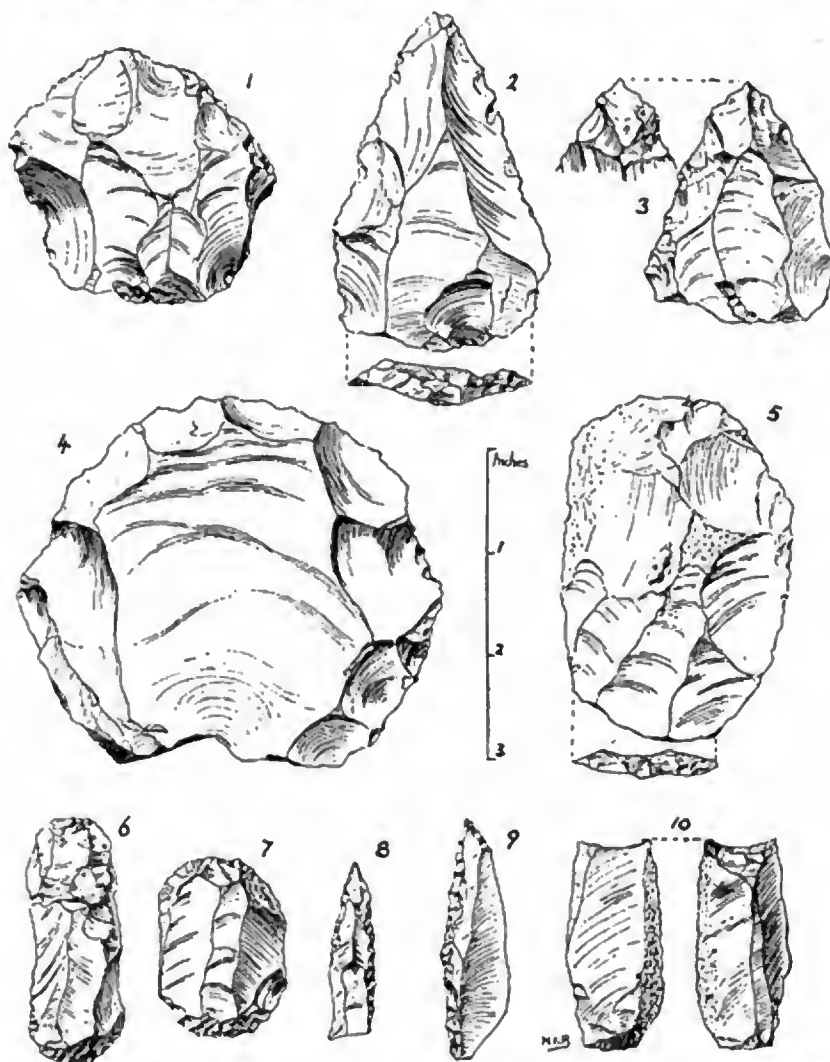
8 and 9. Gravette Points. 8 is more creamy and lustrous than 9, but both specimens are much patinated. The under surfaces are flake surfaces. The backs are blunted, and both tools show a little trimming towards the point on the opposite sides.

10. Transverse-concave angle Burin. Light mahogany patina—less deep than that of specimens 1 and 2. Illustration shows both the under, flake surface with bulb and unfacetted striking platform at base, and also the upper surface, formed by two long primary flakes, the keel in the middle, formed by their intersection, being truncated by a third, narrow, longitudinal flake.



11. Large transverse-edge arrow-head (?). A peculiar tool resembling in general shape the large transverse-edge arrow-heads, sometimes called convex-edge chisels, found in East Anglia which probably belong to the

Early Metal Age. The sides and part of the butt are carefully blunted, and the sharp, convex, working edge is obtained by the intersection of the flat under surface with a flake scar produced by a side blow such as is to be seen in a Campigny axe. It is usually thought that this peculiar technique is confined to certain



Mesolithic artefacts. While the specimen shows no signs of being much weathered, the state of preservation is different from that of any of the tools already described. This is mostly due to the fact that the particular cherty material from which the tool is made weathers in a different manner.

M. C. BURKITT: C. BARRINGTON BROWN.

Papua: Dances.

Humphries.

The Gulf Division Ehalo Dance. By A. R. Humphries.

The Ehalo dance or ceremony is a very old custom, now of rare occurrence in Papua. With one or two exceptions, it is known to and has been practised by all the coastal people of the Gulf Division. When the last Ehalo was held I do not know; but it was sometime before the Vailala Madness occurred,

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in 1917, I think. The ceremony seems to have escaped the notice of Europeans; even Holmes does not mention it, and there is no reference to it in Williams' description of the Gulf Ceremonies. This is to be regretted, for either of these observers could have brought to bear on the subject much more learning than I can lay claim to, and the length of time they could have devoted to it would have been far in excess of that at the disposal of an R.M. in Papua in these crowded days of taxes, family bonuses, rice plantations and oilfields.

As in most of the Gulf ceremonies, masks figure very largely in the Ehalo, and from these the ceremony takes its name, though it was observed that several masks had distinctive names. I should describe the ceremony briefly as a reunion ceremony, since one tribe or village acts as host to several others, and old differences are squared and new friendships brought into being. Thus, at the Ehalo I attended (by invitation—I thought, by the way, that I was going to witness the Sevese) Koraita was the host and Opau, Uaripi, Ururi, Ipisi and Lorabada were the guests. The guests do not bring food; it is the host's duty not only to feed them well, but to send them home heavily laden; so the Gulf Ehalo differs from many other Papuan dances in this respect.

Each village has an Ehalo Master (Ehalo Kiva), and he it is who decides the date of the ceremony and calls the guests. The title is strictly hereditary. Meauka Mavia is the present holder of the title at Koraita.

It seems that when things get gloomy in the village, when bickerings and quarrels are numerous, when the people "pass by one another in the bush without speaking"—in fact, when the people are unhappy and depressed, then do they look to the Ehalo for help; and if Ehalo Kiva is a strong man and has big gardens he does not fail them.

Besides squaring old misunderstandings and renewing tribal friendships, the Ehalo tends to bring family and family, father and son and mother closer together: it fosters, I think, a better understanding between them all. One may think of it as a festival, since extremes of youth and age are not excluded; it is open to all.

The Koraita Ehalo commenced at 5 a.m. (5th September, 1925). At that hour I saw crowds of people—men, women and children—including about one hundred dancers (men), all masked, moving with great pomp and seriousness along the beach towards the village. The dancers moved in good time to the beat of many drums and the clashing of their alaus (leg and arm bracelets of shells and dried seeds).

Reaching the village the dancers broke into groups, each group being followed by crowds of men, women and children. I saw that, in spite of the tremendous masks and great coats of beaten bark (when I first saw them, I thought they were made of dried leaves), which together completely concealed the dancers from head to feet, that mothers and fathers and wives recognized the dancers. Occasionally there was a doubt; but then there was always someone to whisper, "Come along, mother, here he is." Then the little mother would sidle up to some towering grotesqueness (some of the masks themselves were six feet high), and above the noise and din of drums and singing, one could, if one was close enough, hear her talking to it as she shuffled to the beat of the drums. I personally heard the following: "I cannot see your face, my son, but I know you are my child. "Listen, my child! I speak to you through the Ehalo. I have fed you well. "I have not been a bad mother. I am not happy with you. Your ways are not "good ways. You do not share things. You find fish, you bring it home, and "like a man who does not smile (whose face is fixed) you take it into your house "with your woman and forget your mother. You forget your father, too. You "do not ask if we are hungry. Through the Ehalo I talk to you, so that you can "change your manners and make your mother happy."

Everywhere at this time mothers and fathers and wives were dancing and singing alongside of their own special objects of interest. One would pause in her singing to continue an unfinished address to the masked figure alongside of her. Moving from group to group, I heard more praise than blame, more eulogies than condemnations. In one group I saw an old, old woman, wrinkled and bent and nearly sightless, shuffling alongside of and at times, for better protection from the crowd, holding on with one hand to a big figure in a mask, evidently her son. She was seizing the opportunity of the Ehalo of telling him what a good son he had been to her. Her low feeble crooning was scarcely audible amid all that din; but I was told that he inside the mask knew what she was saying.

On all sides these messages were being conveyed; but, of course, I heard only a few. Some women were obviously highly excited, and it was rather amusing to watch them capering around and shouting at the shuffling grotesque figures who in ordinary life were their husbands. For the moment, thanks to the Ehalo, they were their victims. The frenzy of one woman was alarming. Wringing her hands, she danced round a pathetic-looking figure in a mask, and accused him of some serious shortcomings, touching his morals and his mentality. Her shouting rose at times above the noise, but no one paid special attention to her, though the man inside must have been feeling particularly uncomfortable. My interpreter, Aru, allayed my concern by saying, "It's quite alright—it's the fashion of the Ehalo."

For me, it was a strange sight, this Ehalo. The masked men danced in rows of three or four, each row of masks representing some form of life, totemic life. Came first a line of pigs, followed by a line of crabs; then came a line of birds, a line of fishes, dogs, tortoise, and so on. Some of them were truly wonderful and gigantic. Two very interesting characters in this remarkable ceremony reminded me very much of the modern clown. One was the Mother of the Ehalo (Ehala Papuli) and the other the Father of the Ehalo (Ehala Papali).

Ehala Papali wore a small mask that did not interfere with his rapid movements. He led the procession into the village, and a better clown I have not seen. He wore trousers (legs only) made of beaten bark, painted yellow (I am assured that this part of his dress was in vogue for these ceremonies long before the white man came to New Guinea), and carried a long spear in his right hand and a small kiapa (bag) in the other. Immediately behind him came his wife, the Mother of the Ehalo. On her head was fastened a New Guinea water bottle (local name Petatu), painted coconuts formed two tremendous breasts, and she was conspicuously enceinte (elei). The capers of these two men I cannot fully describe, as the actions and movements were very rapid, but Ehala Papali had a fishing net, which after a while she brought into play, "fishing" in the sand during the dance. Pieces of wood were the fish, and many men and children threw "fish" into her basket as she danced from place to place. She worked very hard and presently complained of pains, though she kept on dancing, never far away from Ehala Papali, who, one observed, encouraged her to even greater exertion. This strenuous work brought on labour, and she made efforts to deliver the child, jumping about the while and asking the crowd where she should deposit it. The crowd said, "Please yourself," or "Put it here, put it there," and encouraged her with shouts and cheers. I missed a lot of the by-play of talk owing to the noise.

The antics of these two men, whose make-up was really wonderful, did not stop the proceedings elsewhere. Masked dancers were being harangued and praised and guided about in groups from place to place, for in a crowd like that one can see but little through the peephole of a mask. And it was interesting to note that the angry father, mother or wife all concluded their talk in a hopeful conciliatory tone. Each expected the Ehalo to act as a corrective. Through the Ehalo they

had aired their grievances and made their appeals in a manner impossible in ordinary life "over the breakfast table."

As the Ehalo Kiva afterwards told me, "the white men correct their people " by putting them into gaol and by punishing them in other ways when they do " wrong; we are New Guinea, and we correct our people through the Ehalo."

The dancing and fun went on with intervals of rest until noon, when in front of the assembled company Ehalo Kiva and his assistants commenced the distribution of food. The people seated themselves, and all received quantities of taro, yams, coconuts and sago; then the Kiva addressed the people and asked them, "Is my Ehalo a good Ehalo?" And they all agreed and said, "Yes (or Ah), it is a good Ehalo."

At the Koraita Ehalo, the feasting over, the people departed to their villages; most of the guests had left by sundown. They were all well-provided with presents of food. Some of them had a long way to go to reach their homes; but I understand that, when convenient, the people remain and dance until dawn. This they did at the Keuru Ehalo, the end of which I witnessed only a few days ago (30th April, 1926). I saw nothing of the actual ceremony itself, but I stayed until midnight watching the dances that followed it. Six old men stood in a circle, and men, women and children formed about eight larger circles around them. Apparently, only the men knew the songs. Each, in turn, would sing a song, and the crowd would repeat it after him. Through Interpreters Ilakairi and Village Constable Hoa, I was able to jot down a rough outline of some of them, for example:—

1. Girls, girls, what are you doing,
The sago and coconuts are dead,
Girls, girls what are you doing,
Girls what are you doing?

The other verse of this I missed.

2. Close your dress, close your dress,
I can see your eke,
Don't sit down like that, don't sit down like that,
Oh, I can see your eke.
3. Bring the pig, bring your pig,
By and by we eat it.
Oh the pig has run away, your pig has run away,
There he goes, through the village ground he goes.
No, it is not the pig, no, it is not the pig;
The pig is there, the pig is there; a dog has run away.
4. The girls let all men love them,
That is no good.
Why do you let all men love you?
That is no good.
You must not do like that, you must not do like that,
You must not let all men love you.

The words I have used are, with a few exceptions, the words of the interpreters, of course. The word love is obviously a substitute.

The songs followed one another in quick succession, dozens in number, and the interpreters remembered them only for a few moments. They explained that the old men were singing very old songs, and sons extemporised by one or two of them who were renowned for that sort of thing. The translations given above must be inaccurate, but they reveal something of the true meaning of the songs

I heard. Before leaving, I gave a prize for the best head-dress, halting the proceedings to do so. When the dance resumed, the old men, now sitting down in a circle with pots of food in their midst, composed a song on the subject. They seem to extemporise in this way very readily.

A. R. HUMPHRIES.

Bride-Price.

Wilson-Haffenden.

"Espousal Fee": An Alternative Term for "Bride-Price." By **166**
Captain J. R. Wilson-Haffenden.

In his most interesting article on this subject (MAN, 1931, 42) Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard refers in a footnote to chapter XI in my book "The Red Men of "Nigeria" (Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1930) in which I put forward for consideration the term "espousal fee" as an alternative to "bride-price"; and mentions that for certain reasons he had been unable to add to his paper my arguments in favour of this expression or his reasons for doubting its value.

Dr. Evans-Pritchard suggests that the term "bride-wealth" is unobjectionable and may prove to be acceptable to all, as a substitute for "bride-price," to refer to that which is handed over by a man or his relatives to the family or clan of his wife in connection with his marriage. The term "bride-price" is said to be objectionable because "it encourages the layman to think that 'price' used in this connection is synonymous with 'purchase' in common English parlance"—a contention with which I agree.

My principal reasons for doubting the value of the term "bride-wealth" are three-fold.

(i) It has encouraged the laymen on whom I have tried it to think that "wealth" used in this context is synonymous with "dowry" in common English parlance, viz., wealth contributed by the bride (and not, as it is intended to mean, by the husband) to a marriage. It would therefore appear not to be, as is suggested, "a term which we can use without ambiguity."

(ii) The word "bride" is not applied in common parlance to a betrothed girl before marriage, but the so-called "bride-price" is, as I have pointed out in my book, among some peoples (e.g., the Cow Fulani) given on betrothal in infancy many years before actual marriage.

(iii) According to Dr. Evans-Pritchard "the term 'bride-wealth' stresses very definitely the economic value of all the different things which are handed over by the group of a man to the group of a woman as one of the concrete obligations of the union." According to my argument it is undesirable to use any term which stresses the economic at the expense of the juridical or religious conceptions implied by native terms translated "bride-price."

In the chapter in my book mentioned above, I allude to the previous contributions to this subject in MAN, concluding with the following remarks, which I quote for the sake of convenient reference.

"The terminological problem has now been stated. What single English expression best translates the complex economic, juridical and religious conception implied by the native term 'kuridin aure'? In adopting the expression 'espousal fee' I have been guided by two considerations.

"Firstly, the idea of 'espousal' is wider than that of either 'betrothal' or 'marriage,' since it includes both. Said of a father or sponsor, 'to espouse' may imply 'to betroth,' 'plight or pledge in marriage' (i.e., in itself it contains the idea of 'earnest') or 'to give in marriage, marry or wed.' Said of a bridegroom it implies 'to marry or wed.' It thus covers instances in which, as among the Cow Fulani, the 'espousal fee' is given on betrothal in infancy, and instances in

" which, as among the Kwottos, the ' espousal fee ' is finally handed over or completed on the wedding eve.

" Secondly, the word ' fee ' in normal English usage may suggest a relation that is primarily economic, primarily juridical, or primarily religious, which cannot be said of Mr. Torday's suggested ' earnest ' or Professor Radcliffe Brown's suggested ' indemnity.' For one may pay a doctor a fee for ministering to the bodily wants. (A wife may also do this.) The transaction here is primarily economic. One may pay a Government Department a fee for a licence to hold or a right of user. (The sponsor of a bride may also give this.) Here the transaction may be mainly juridical.

" Lastly, one reads in ecclesiastical history of ' fees ' being paid to priests for religious dispensations and the saying of masses for the souls of the dead. In this connection the purpose of the payment is almost wholly unrelated to economics or jurisprudence and is preponderatingly religious."

The above is a summary of my arguments in favour of the use of the term " espousal fee," which I offer as a contribution to this discussion.

J. R. WILSON-HAFFENDEN.

Egypt: Magic.

Hornblower.

The Laying of a Ghost in Egypt. By G. D. Hornblower.

167

Living enemies have often been dealt with by causing them to waste away by melting wax images of them by the fire, or clay ones in a stream of water, but it is, I believe, a novelty to find a similar method used to get rid of a dead enemy; in other words to lay a ghost. An example of this procedure was reported to me some years ago in Lower Egypt: a man had been run over and killed by a train and his ghost, like those of all who have met a violent death, was believed to haunt the spot where he died, most maleficent. The neighbouring villagers, to lay the ghost, set up a rude clay image of a man and as it wasted away with the weather, the haunting grew weaker and eventually ceased.

The spirit was evidently supposed to have taken up its abode in the image and there must have lurked in the minds of those peasants something of the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians who connected the dead with their images and set up statues as a home for them, second, perhaps—but this is not proven—to that provided by the mummy. But the idea behind the modern practice differs much from that of the ancients; whereas the object of the former is to get rid of the ghost, the latter erected statues to give it comfort, for the ancients believed that unless the dead man was properly provided for, in housing as well as food, he would be reduced to extreme misery and haunt his survivors implacably.

The ghost is called by modern Egyptians *afrit*, which also means a demon and may be used for *ginns*, a correlation which indicates the lively fear that accompanies the idea of ghosts. In some parts of Upper Egypt a sheep is killed three days after a burial, for the purpose, as the head-man of a large village explained to me, of preventing the dead man from returning to the village. The usual word for "spirit," denuded of the idea of a haunting ghost is *rûh* which has the same root-meaning, "breath," as our word "spirit," but no such idea is discernible among the ancient Egyptians for they scarcely distinguished between the bodily person of a dead man and his spirit. They, too, were much oppressed by fear of the dead, as were the Babylonians; the "Pyramid Texts" even contain an incantation to prevent a dead man from killing a person ("Utterance" 571) and among the charms to be recited by a mother in protection of her child is one aimed at "the dead man or woman," a common object of Babylonian incantations.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Annual General Meeting. 30th June, 1931.

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The Report of the Council and the Financial Report were discussed and adopted; they will be printed in the *Journal*, Vol. LXI, now in the press.

The Rivers Memorial Medal was presented to the Reverend Edwin W. Smith, in recognition of his valuable field work in Tropical Africa.

Officers and Council were elected as follows:—*President*, T. A. Joyce, O.B.E., M.A.; *Vice-Presidents*, Dr. H. S. Harrison, the Earl of Onslow, Dr. C. O. Blagden; *Hon. Secretary*, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard; *Hon. Treasurer*, G. D. Hornblower, O.B.E.; *Hon. Editor*, H. J. Braunholtz; *Council*, H. C. Beasley, M. C. Burkitt, L. H. Dudley Buxton, Miss G. Caton Thompson, Prof. W. Le Gros Clark, K. de B. Codrington, Miss M. E. Durham, Prof. R. Ruggles Gates, E. L. Gruning, C. F. Hawkes, C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Prof. B. Malinowski, Miss M. A. Murray, W. P. Pyecraft, Lord Raglan, Capt. R. S. Rattray, R. U. Sayce, M.A., Mrs. C. G. Seligman, Miss M. Tildesey, Miss C. Wedgwood.

The retiring President, Professor J. L. Myres, O.B.E., F.B.A., delivered an address on *Anthropology, Pure and Applied*, in which he reviewed the principal activities of the Institute; announced the joint invitation of the Institute and the Society of Antiquaries to the new International Congress of Prehistoric Sciences to hold its first meeting in London in the summer of 1932; and reviewed the progress made in the provision of opportunities for anthropological training to Colonial Civil Servants destined for duty overseas, and for more advanced study when overseas officers are willing to devote themselves to this during their furlough.

Arabia.

Thomas.

The Anthropology of the Arabian Desert. *Summary of a communication presented by Bertram Thomas; 7th July, 1931.*

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The paper, illustrated by photographs, described the various types encountered during a journey from Dhufar across the Great Desert.

India.

Lectures.

India: *Open Public Lectures: October–November, 1931.*

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As in previous years, a course of Open Public Lectures will be delivered in the autumn of the present year, on behalf of the Royal Anthropological Institute. This year's course, on *The Races and Cultures of India*, has been arranged by the Indian Research Committee of the Institute, and will be delivered at University College, London, W.C.1, by the courtesy of the Provost and Council, as follows:—

- Oct. 12. India, Past and Present. The Most Honble. Marquess of Zetland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
- Oct. 19. Kings and Emperors of Ancient India. Professor F. W. Thomas, M.A., F.B.A., Oxford.
- Oct. 26. Indian Sculpture. K. De B. Codrington, B.A., India Museum.
- Nov. 2. Hillmen and Headhunters of Northern India. Colonel T. C. Hodson, M.A., Cambridge.
- Nov. 9. Caste and Creed in Southern India. F. J. Richard, M.A., I.C.S., retired.
- Nov. 16. Mughal Court Painting. J. V. S. Wilkinson, M.A., British Museum.

The name of the chairman of each meeting, and details of time and place, will be announced later on the back cover of MAN.

Journal.

Official.

Durable Paper for the Institute's Journal. *Notice to Fellows and other Subscribers, and especially to Libraries.*

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The Council has decided to print a limited number of copies of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute on a specially durable all-rag paper, beginning with the forthcoming issue, Volume LXI, part 1.

The paper which has been selected is John Dickinson and Co.'s Grade I B machine-made all-rag paper, which is produced in accordance with the specification for "durable book papers" set out in the recent report of the Library Association.

This durable issue will be supplied in future to the copyright libraries of Great Britain; and one set will be kept for use in the Institute's own library.

This issue is specially recommended for libraries, where maximum durability is a matter of primary importance.

The extra cost to subscribers, of the durable issue, will be 7s. per annum, or 3s. 6d. each part. Requests for copies should be sent to the office of the Institute, 52, Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C.1, if possible by September 1st, when the order will be given for printing Vol. LXI, part 1; but orders for subsequent parts will be received at any later date.

REVIEWS.

Rhodesia.

Caton-Thompson.

The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions. Gertrude Caton-Thompson. 172
Clarendon Press, 1931. 299 pp.,
73 plates, one coloured, 10 x 6½. 25s.

The Zimbabwe ruins are situated in the Southern portion of Rhodesia about 240 miles due West from the ancient port of Sofala. Such records as are extant and which deal with the occupation of the East coast of Africa show that, from the early days of the Christian era, the various races inhabiting Arabia gradually pushed their way down this coast; for a long time Cape Guardafui marked their approximate Southern limit, but as early as the first century they appear to have reached Magadisho, Brawa and perhaps Zanzibar. With the rise of Islam these exploratory voyages received a new impetus, and the Arabs of Oman apparently founded a trading post at Sofala early in the fourteenth century and from that place traded inland for several centuries. Later on trade routes were opened up Southward from the Zambezi into Rhodesia. It is not intended to go into further details, but it would be a remarkable fact if after all these centuries of trading intercourse between coastal settlements and the natives of the interior some trace did not remain. It is, in fact, curious that the traces of contact with this alien culture are so scanty among the native tribes of the interior, for many tons of beads and other articles of trade, comparatively indestructible, must have changed hands.

It is now about 60 years since the Zimbabwe ruins were first discovered by a Dutchman, and for many years they attracted little attention, for but few were able to visit them. It was not till the Pioneer Expedition of 1890 that they began to be better known, and interest was intensified by the discovery of small

quantities of gold objects in and about the ruins. About 1892 the late Theodore Bent carried out some excavations at the ruins and rashly launched a theory that here was a great fortress, the focus of the gold supply for the ancient rulers of Sabaea and beyond doubt built by alien colonists. Journalistic enterprise, ever on the look out for a romantic story, seized upon this theory and so the legend grew.

Randall-MacIver, who explored the ruins in 1905, was the first person to apply the test of modern archaeological method, and his conclusions were that the buildings were the work of Africans and of not earlier than medieval date. His deductions were accepted by professional archaeologists, but there still remained a large body of public opinion in South Africa which strongly resented such a view; they failed, however, to upset his conclusions, and could only quote minor points in which his results were inconclusive.

The British Association, therefore, considered it advisable to arrange with Miss Caton-Thompson to lead a new expedition to Zimbabwe in 1929, the time being so chosen that its results would be available for the Meeting of the British Association at Cape Town in the autumn of that year. The work now before us contains the details of the investigation carried out by Miss Caton-Thompson and her two helpers, Miss Norie and Miss Kenyon.

It is fine piece of work and will long stand as a model of close observation and logical deduction. As was expected by archaeologists, the conclusions generally confirm those of MacIver, but they go much deeper. Articles derived from outside trade with alien races were found as on previous occasions, but the architecture is conclusively proved to be of African origin and to bear no trace of

either alien construction or design. Pottery of two periods was found in abundance, and with the exception of an occasional scrap of traded ware is all clearly African; the iron work, too, is of African type. No skeletal remains of other than Africans have ever been discovered in any of the excavations.

A great deal of discussion has centred round the conical tower at Zimbabwe and much doubt has been cast on the ability of Africans to erect such a structure. As Miss Thompson, however, points out, conical towers of a similar character are a feature of the mosque architecture of the Moslems on the East coast, and the imitative ability of the African might well have attempted a rude replica at Zimbabwe. The writer of this review is well acquainted with these rude minarets; they are a feature of nearly every Arab settlement along the East African coast and they are always erected in isolation outside the mosque. Some observers suggest a phallic origin, others think that the design was derived from the "pharos," or lighthouse. So many undoubted phalli have, however, been found in and around Zimbabwe that the phallic motif is probably the correct hypothesis.

It is not proposed here to attempt to give an abstract of the evidence which forms the basis of the author's conclusion, but it will be seen that, apart from the excavations at the main enclosure, the Maund ruins and the Acropolis, which are all in one area, she investigated groups of ruins in the Sabi Reserve and another interesting site called Dhlo-Dhlo, some miles West of Zimbabwe. In no case did the evidence conflict with that of the main sites.

It may be asked whether all this expenditure of money and labour was worth while. The reply depends greatly on the point of view. As a means of exploding what was to archaeologists a moribund theory of the exotic origin of the ruins it was probably not worth the trouble involved. But, as often happens, careful research opens up new problems, and the cautious attempts at dating the commencement of the occupation of these sites by these vanished African peoples afford useful evidence regarding the advent of the various waves of native people from the North. The investigations therefore open up a promising enquiry regarding the ancient history of the continent.

Some stress is laid on the dating of a sherd of celadon ware; it has been classed as of the Sung dynasty and therefore somewhere between tenth and thirteenth centuries. Now celadon ware was imported

from China by the Arabs for several hundred years; hardly any came direct from that country, but was imported from Java to the African coast. It would appear that Java was throughout the Middle Ages a trading centre from which much Chinese ware was disseminated. Celadon dishes are comparatively common on the East African coast from Mogadishu to the Southern limit of Arab trade, and this ware was particularly prized by Arabs because it was alleged to change colour if any poisoned food was served on it. It was therefore used for an honoured guest. Whether the age determination of a single fragment is very positive, the writer cannot say; on general grounds one would like an opinion to be based on a number of specimens.

Other attempts at dating are based on beads, a type of object upon which systematic work has unfortunately been somewhat limited. Apparently in England there is only one monograph on beads, viz. the monumental paper by Mr. H. C. Beck in *Archæologia*, LXXVII, 1927, but unfortunately that author mainly deals with classification and gives no criteria for dating. Archaeologists have for a long time recognised the value of beads as aids for dating, but far more research is needed and an authoritative work on this aspect would be of great interest. The portability of beads adds to the difficulty of tracing their origin and they are, generally, the most tantalising objects which are found. It would therefore appear at this stage to be unwise to be unduly dogmatic as to dating based on beads.

Much more research into the questions raised by this work needs to be carried out; at one end of the scale we have the peopling of Africa by successions of Stone Age folk and following these movements and probably overlapping them we have what are generally termed the Bantu invasions. Whether these two phases can be separated, inasmuch as they at first sight appear to have emerged from regions remote from each other, or whether they should be all interpreted as part of one movement recurrent during a vast period of time, is as yet by no means clear. One apprehends a hiatus between Stone Age man and Iron Age man; but this may be deceptive.

If, as some maintain, successive waves of Stone Age men came into Africa via Egypt, then splitting up, some going South-west and some South, it may be that the sections who settled North of the Equator progressed more rapidly in culture, acquiring a knowledge of iron, etc., either by indigenous invention or by contact with other and more ingenious

racés. The descendants of these more northerly settlers may later have swept South within historic times (and be known to us as the Bantu), annihilating earlier settlers in South Africa among whom the stone culture still persisted. Even if, as some hold, the route of entry from Asia was by the Straits of Bab el Mandeb the same hypothesis may hold. Recent researches in East and South Africa have opened up a new field in archæology and prehistory and have produced as usual a crop of unanswered questions; thus Miss Caton-Thompson's contribution to the ancient history of African peoples in her present work is both timely and stimulating.

The publishers have been very generous in the matter of illustrations and the book is excellently produced. C. W. H.

South America.

Spencer.

Spencer's Last Journey. Edited by R. R. Marett and T. K. Penniman, with contributions by Sir James Frazer and H. Balfour. Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. vi + 153, with eight plates, twelve line drawings and two maps. Price 12s. 6d.

The loss which the scientific world, and especially the world of anthropology, has sustained through the death of the late Sir Baldwin Spencer can in part be estimated by the value of his ethnographical work on the Australian Aborigines and by the magnificent collection of artefacts in the Melbourne Museum which will exist as a perpetual memorial to him. But with the publication in this volume of his diary during his month's work in Tierra del Fuego, it becomes abundantly clear how much more he could have given to science had his life been spared. He arrived on Navarin Island early in May 1929, and there for a month he worked to learn something of the social organisation, the economic life and the religious beliefs of the Yaghan people. The majority of these people—or rather, of the remnants who have survived contact with European civilization—now live in a reserve, but there are still a few families who adhere to their old nomadic life. It was from such nomads that Spencer obtained the bulk of his information. Unfortunately his informants were not easy to work with, and reading between the lines of his journal we can gain some idea of the patience and tactful perseverance which must have been employed to obtain such data as he was able to get in so short a space of time. A list of kinship terms and notes on the marriage rules of the Yaghan; a brief account of their belief

concerning human spirits and their funeral practices; descriptions of their dug-out canoes and other implements and of their methods of manufacture—all serve to whet our appetites for more. Fortunately Spencer was able to make a collection of artefacts, both from places along the coast of Patagonia during the outward voyage, and from Navarin and neighbouring islands. The bulk of this collection has gone to Melbourne Museum; but though we cannot in this country see the originals, this loss is partly compensated for by a most interesting account of the specimens, illustrated by line drawings, which has been contributed by Mr. Henry Balfour.

Yet, though Spencer's primary interest in Navarin and Hoste islands was ethnological, he also studied the fauna and flora, and his diary is full of commentaries on the bird and plant life which came under his observation. In particular, mention must be made of his dissection and study of the wing musculature of the loggerhead duck, to which a valuable commentary has been added by Mr. B. W. Tucker.

In his introduction to the book Sir James Frazer surveys Spencer's contributions to our knowledge of the fast-disappearing Australian blackfellows, and shows him as an observer rather than as a weaver of hypotheses; while in the brief memoir written by Dr. Marett we are given, as it were, a bird's-eye view of Spencer's multifarious activities as zoologist, ethnologist and lover of the arts, which have made so many people indebted to him both in Australia and in his native land. C. H. W.

Europe: Bronze Age.

Childe.

The Bronze Age. By V. Gordon Childe. Cambridge (University Press). 1930. Pp. xi, 258. 31 figs., 1 plate, and folding map. Price 8s. 6d. net.

I do not know anyone better qualified than Professor Childe for the writing of this book, and I certainly do not know anyone among the few approved students of the Bronze Age who would have accomplished the task with equal adroitness; for this little work is a model handbook that all wise archæologists will want to see imitated by other authors writing of other periods, and though there may, perhaps, be a little room for improvement in the matter of the illustrations, on the whole it would be really difficult to better the plan and structure of such an admirably arranged book. In addition, as those who know Professor Childe's other works will naturally expect to hear, it has the advantages of being written with delightful clarity and of being just comfortably packed full of necessary and valuable information.

First of all there is a short introductory chapter dealing with the origin of the metal

industry (in which the author prudently refrains from adjudicating upon the rival claims of Egypt and Mesopotamia) and afterwards comes an account in appropriate detail of the technicalities of early metallurgy and a brief survey of the vigorous commerce and the general cultural amelioration that were results of the momentous steps from Stone to Bronze Age. This done, we come seriously to grips with our subject in a useful chapter (for which all museum-folk should offer heart-felt thanks) wherein the author describes the leading varieties of metal objects that represent his period, and explains, so far as is at present possible, their typological development; here he has little to say that is new, but the account is characterised by a commendable discretion that gives it an unquestionable importance; for Professor Childe, I am glad to say, is the master and not the servant of the "typological method," and therefore he resolutely and very properly refuses to carve up time and to invent peoples simply to accommodate a well-arranged "evolutionary series," a virtue that is, of course, most of all conspicuous in subsequent chapters.

It is in these that the author gives of his best; in them he surveys one by one the great archaeological provinces of the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age, displaying as he does so an intimate familiarity with each of the varied cultures that is likely to astonish even those who imagined themselves possessed of special knowledge of a particular area. I should like to call attention to the account of the Late Bronze Age in Sardinia (pp. 197-200) as an example of Professor Childe's uncanny skill in the interpretation of the manifold phenomena of a single and none too well-known cultural province; but it would be very easy to name other instances, above all among the Central European cultures which, as everybody knows, the author has studied with scrupulous care.

It is, of course, inevitable that each reader of a shortish book like this should have his private disappointments, but on the whole the author has succeeded in dealing adequately with most of the aspects of his huge subject and he can safely afford to disregard complaints of omission and of occasional perfunctoriness. There is certainly very little that one would like to see altered. Nevertheless I note with pain that our usually sure-footed author is journeying with perilous uncertainty across

the treacherous and unsavoury morass that represents the Late Bronze Age in Britain, even though I cannot possibly blame him for floundering in a place where so many of his friends have been actually engulfed. Still, it was imprudent, I think, to include the "bucket urn" among our indigenous pottery types, and certainly quite useless to appeal to Dr. Clay's "Woodminton" paper in support of this view; because Dr. Clay changed his mind in 1927 and said so very plainly (*Antiquaries Journal*, VII, 482-3). This is a small point, but in the matter of this section generally I do very much wish that Professor Childe had had the opportunity of revising the pages concerned after the publication of the St. Catharine's Hill Report, for this would have enabled him to give a clearer and more up-to-date account of our Late Bronze Age. Mr. Hawkes and his colleagues have written in vain if it is really true (p. 236) that our Hallstatt invaders (as represented at Park Brow) did not arrive until La Tène times, and neither they nor I are likely to understand how the spearhead at Huelva is proof of an invasion of this country at an early date (p. 237), if it is, as all agree, a British type (cf. p. 93) and not a distinctively foreign weapon.

The point here, of course, is that Professor Childe wants to introduce our Late Bronze Age with a violent invasion at about 1000 B.C. whereas modern opinion, if I interpret it correctly, gives us L.B.A. i. (or Peace Period) that witnessed more the penetration of new implement-fashions, as notably the socketed axo and earliest leaf-shaped swords, and L.B.A. ii. (or War Period) that was in fact nothing but the sustained and bloody birth-pangs of the Iron Age. It was in this last period, say 750-500 B.C., that I imagine took place the introduction of the foreign pottery that is both Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt, together with the introduction of some small bronze objects of patently foreign origin, and I believe that this pottery and these bronzes are symptomatic of invasion in a sense in which the earlier adoption of such a universal commodity as the socketed axe is not. This view is admittedly controversial and perhaps Professor Childe may be right in having nothing to do with it; I regret simply that he has not made the conflict of opinion clear and thereby given us the benefit of his own ripe and always-to-be-welcomed judgment on this crucial point in our own prehistory.

T. D. KENDRICK.

NOTES.

Africa.

Congress.

The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures: 175

The Ninth Meeting of the Executive Council of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures was held in Paris from 27th to 29th May, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord Lugard. Among the officials and others specially interested in Colonial problems who were present were the Presidents of the Committees for Colonial Affairs in the Senate

and in the Chamber of Deputies.

At the opening meeting the Chairman announced that the Rockefeller Foundation had generously promised to give the Institute a yearly contribution of £5,000 for five years, plus a further contribution calculated at the rate of £1 for every £2 raised from other sources.

This grant will enable the Institute to undertake further study and research in Africa; and the greater part of the meeting of the Council was devoted to discussion of the programme of work.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Africa, East.

Huntingford.

"Shouting" and "Non-Shouting" Languages.

176

SIR,—Major Stoneham, in MAN, 1931, 55, suggests that we must go much farther back into the histories of the East African peoples before we can explain such peculiarities of speech as Lord Raglan's "shouting" and "non-shouting" languages. While I agree that it is desirable to go as far back as we can, I should like to offer the following comments on his letter, and on this theory in general:

1. Major Stoneham's classification needs correction. None of his "Group B. Hamitic" are Hamitic, but they are all Nilo-Hamitic, between which terms there is considerable difference. I have published a classification in *Bibliotheca Africana*, 1929, III, 146.

For Hamitic covers the ancient races of N. and N.E. Africa, whose nearest representatives to the area under discussion are the Gala of S. Abyssinia, speaking a sex-determining language in which the majority of words end in a vowel; while Nilo-Hamitic denotes a group whose languages are formed from a union of Nilotic and Hamitic, the Nilotic element predominating.

2. In the languages of the Nandi group, rather more than half the words really end in a vowel in the singular primary form. The consonantal terminations -t in the sing. and -k in the plural (which, incidentally, are in some words -ta, -to, and -ka, -ko), are secondary endings, added comparatively recently, when this group had reached Elgon. The Suk, who broke off at an early period, do not possess this secondary ending except in a few words borrowed from Nandi. See my "History of the Nandi," in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1927; also *Bibliotheca Afric.*, III, 35 seq. The "abrupt cutting off of the breath at the end of the word which is apt to be mistaken for a final k," which Beech describes (representing it by the Arabic hamzah ٥) is, "The Suk," p. 47, Major Stoneham's "stopped consonant"; it is not, in all probability, a Nandi peculiarity, but is, I believe, one of the corruptions acquired by Suk after their separation from the main body of the Nandi, like the Turkana guttural kh = Arabic kha.

3. Therefore, it can hardly be said of the Nandi group that it originally ended its words in a consonant. Further, the true Hamitic Gala ends mostly in a vowel; three-fourths of Nilotic Luo likewise; and Nilo-Hamitic Māṣae contains too large a proportion of words ending in a vowel to say that it is a language of consonantal endings.

There is, strange to say, a Bantu tribe on the N.W. side of Elgon, called Awa Syan or "Bantu Sabei," in whose language at least one-ninth of the words ends in a very marked manner, in a consonant; it is, so far as I know, the only Eastern Bantu language that does so. Otherwise, it is a normal Bantu language; and the Awa Gisu [Ba Gishu], neighbours of the Awa Syan, who live in the same district, speak an entirely normal, though archaic, Bantu language.

4. The Nandi, whose nouns in ordinary talk now mostly end in a consonant, hold long-distance conversations; so do the Bantu

Kavirondo, e.g. the Awa Isukha (Major Stoneham's Ka-Kamega, recte Kakumega) whose words all end in a vowel except -nyishi, "many," and -támáno, "bad," in which the first vowel is often cut off. It is perhaps worthy of notice that in some instances the primary termination in modern Nandi has lost a final consonant, which is still present in Kony on Elgon: e.g., Ndi, toi-ya, "termite," pel-io, "elephant" are toi-yan, pel-ion, in Kony.

5. There is no trace of Somali influence in the Nilo-Hamitic languages. A few Somali numerals are the same as in Gala and Borāna; but Somali may have borrowed them.

I am inclined to think that it is too early to start theorizing in this fashion about "shouting" or other types of language. Granted that environment and occupation—this latter aspect has not yet been mentioned—have a part to play, we need a far larger stock of linguistic facts to work on, and a good deal more comparative research before we can be justified in this kind of theorizing. Preconceived theories based on such uncertain grounds are not good to work upon.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Kipkaren, Kenya.

Ireland:
Palæolithic.Reid Moir:
Burchell.**The Asturian Industry of Northern Ireland.**

177

SIR,—In his paper "The Flint Industry of the Northern Irish (25-foot) Raised Beach: A Preliminary Study of its

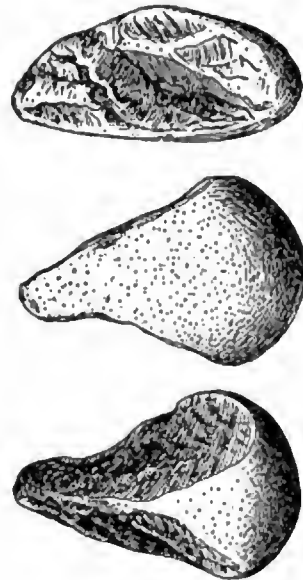


FIG. 1.

(FIG. 2 OF MR. WHELAN'S PAPER.)

This specimen is described by Mr. Whelan (p. 180) as "a small but characteristic Asturian pick from Ancora, made from a thicker pebble giving a high medium ridge, with sides trimmed by heavy flaking from the edges."

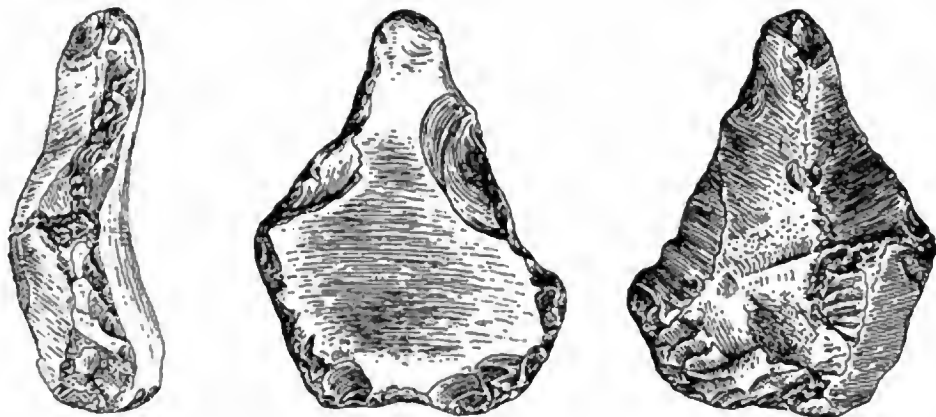


FIG. 2.

(FIG. 1a OF MR. WHELAN'S PAPER.)

Mr. Whelan describes this specimen (p. 179) as "an equally typical Larnie example. . . . The "Irish pick has been similarly roughed-out upon a suitable nodule and then, to secure the flat "undersurface, has been struck off Levallois fashion."

"Relation to the Asturian Industry of "Portugal" (*Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, LX, 1930), our friend Mr. Blake Whelan claims that the flint culture he has found in the 25-foot raised beach at Larnie and on Island Magee, in Northern Ireland, is technically comparable with the Asturian industry of Spain and Portugal. In support of this opinion he lays great stress upon a series of specimens from Larnie and Island Magee, concerning which he states (p. 180) that "the "flaking methods employed on the Portuguese "and Irish artifacts are identical."

Further, Mr. Whelan figures specimens from Portugal and Ireland in juxtaposition for comparison.

In view of the importance and interest of this matter we have made a careful study of Mr. Whelan's illustrations and descriptions; and in consequence we are compelled to regard his conclusions as erroneous.

The Asturian "pick" in its typical form is a rostro-carinate. It is made from a rolled pebble, and in every example figured by Mr. Whelan the dorsal and ventral surfaces are composed of unflaked cortex. The "keel" and point of the implements have been formed by blows delivered, usually, upon the more or less flat ventral surface as in rostro-carinates. There cannot remain any doubt therefore that the Asturian "pick" is simply a late survival, or a recrudescence, of this ancient type of artifact. In the case of the specimens found by Mr. Whelan, it is at once clear, from an examination of the illustrations, that the Irish implements have been formed by a totally different technique from that employed in making the "picks" of Asturian times. In fact it is difficult to imagine any two methods of implement-manufacture more dissimilar. For Mr. Whelan's specimens, on his own admission, are, in every case figured by him in his paper, made from flakes struck from previously-prepared cores (p. 179). "The

"Irish pick . . . has been struck off Levallois "fashion.") Thus, while the Asturian "pick" is clearly a core-implement, the Irish examples are made from flakes.

In view of these unassailable facts it is surprising to find Mr. Whelan stating (p. 180) "When allowance is made for the differing "material from which they are made, the "technical characters of these specimens are "so closely comparable as to suggest a studied "reproduction of the quartzite utensil in flint. "Indeed, the flaking methods employed on "the Portuguese and Irish artifacts are "identical." (Our italics.) In his concluding remarks Mr. Whelan states (p. 184): "In technique of manufacture the Irish raised beach "artifact represents a somewhat crude translation of the Iberian quartzite implement "into flint."

We have, however, shown that while the Asturian "pick" is made on quite simple lines (as are the most primitive rostro-carinates), Mr. Whelan's implements are made upon a much more advanced plan of flint-flaking, by means of which rough flake-implements were produced.

Therefore it is an untenable claim that the Irish artifacts in question are, so far as their technique is concerned, merely a "crude "translation" of the Asturian "picks" of Spain and Portugal.

Having thus shown that Mr. Whelan's specimens have no real technical relationship to the Asturian "pick," it remains to speculate as to what these Irish artifacts really represent. We have examined a considerable series of flint flakes from industries of varied age and found in widely-separated parts of England, and it is abundantly clear that the particular type of flake to which Mr. Whelan attaches so much importance is common to them all. In flaking a core, as can be ascertained by anyone who will take the trouble to experiment, it is a frequent experience to remove flakes which

(owing to the angle at which the hammerstone impinges on the striking-platform) are 'resolved.' When one or more of such resolved flake-scars have been produced, and a consequent "stop-ridge" formed, it becomes necessary, in order to remove flakes of the desired kind, to get rid of the troublesome flake-surface upon which the "stop-ridge" has developed. This is achieved by a strong blow delivered some little way in from the edge of the striking-platform, thus enabling a fresh start in the removal of the necessary flakes to be made. We cannot doubt, therefore, that Mr. Wholan's specimens are more or less flakes formed in the manner we have described. In many cases these flakes have been further modified to be used as implements of one kind or another. But that they cannot, without violence to accuracy, be described as Asturian "picks" is, in our judgment, established beyond controversy.

J. REID MOIR.

J. P. T. BURCHELL.

Egypt. Egyptian Jewellery and Beads.

Mond.

178

SIR,—In conjunction with its annual exhibition of antiquities from recent excavations the Egypt Exploration Society proposes to arrange for a loan exhibition of Egyptian Jewellery and Beads, and I write to ask if my Committee may count upon your co-operation in this undertaking.

The exhibition will be held in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in Wigmore Street, by kind permission of Dr. Wellcome, and will be open during the greater part of September while the Centenary meetings of the British Association and the Faraday Society are in progress.

There is in existence in private collections a considerable amount of very interesting Egyptian jewellery, very little of which has been adequately described or studied. Any assistance which you can give by the loan of specimens of such jewellery from your own collection, or by indicating to us the names of any friends who may have some in their possession, will contribute largely to the success of the exhibition and be of real benefit towards the advancement of our knowledge of this branch of Egyptian art. The authorities of the Egypt Exploration Society will, naturally, undertake the responsibility of safeguarding and insuring any such specimens entrusted to them.

I may add that it is proposed to publish an adequate descriptive catalogue of all objects exhibited, and it is unnecessary to point out that this description will certainly enhance the value and importance of the exhibits.

If you are willing to assist in this scheme will you be good enough to send a list of any available specimens, so that a small committee which will be appointed to arrange the Exhibition may be able to avoid unnecessary duplication? As a good deal of time will be needed if this exhibition is to be a complete success, an early answer will be much appreciated.

ROBERT MOND.

President, Egypt Exploration Society.
13, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

Borneo.

Swayne.

Hunting Dogs in Borneo.

179

SIR,—Nearly all non-Mohamedan tribes in Sarawak (Borneo) keep dogs for hunting deer, pig and small game (as anyone who has spent a night in a native house knows). They are pariahs, but serve the purpose well. On an organized hunt a mixed pack is taken (bitches on heat or in whelp are of course put back). An owner also, when he goes for a day's work in the jungle or on his farm, will usually take one or more with him. They are never properly looked after and get most of their food by scavenging or theft, though certain small parts of a kill are kept for them.

The main point by which a dog is judged is the position of four pairs of the rudimentary nipples. These are known as (1) *susu butoi* (*susu* = nipple, *butoi* = penis), (2) *susu sial* (*sial* = tip of penis), (3) *susu pusad* (*pusad* = navel), (4) *susu caup* (meaning not explained). The names given are Seduaan, a Kelemtan tribe on the Rajang river.

In a perfect dog (1), the inguinal pair should be just anterior to the base of the penis, but not too close to (2), the second abdominal pair, which should be exactly on either side of the end of the *meatus urinarius*; (3) the first abdominal pair should be slightly anterior to the umbilicus, and (4) the pectoral pair should rest on the lowest ribs. If the last are out of place the dog will be taken by a crocodile, the fate of a large number. All pairs should be level.

None of the dogs I was able to examine passed the test; all showed variations. I am told that other Bornean tribes judge their dogs in a similar manner.

J. C. SWAYNE.

America, North.

Onslow.

Spanish-Moorish Ornament 180 from Arizona.

SIR,—With reference to the note by Mr. Forrest Clements (MAN, 1931, 64) on *An Ornament of possible Spanish-Moorish design found in Arizona*, I write to say that I sent the note to Morocco, and a friend of mine, Mr. Alfred Irwin, late dragoman of the Legation, examined it and showed it to a number of people acquainted with Morocco and the design of Saints' Spears; and they have all come to the conclusion that though it very greatly resembles a Moorish saints' spear in form, it must be Spanish, as it is flat on one side, thus differing from the usual Saints' Spear.

ONSLow.

Family.

Raglan.

The Meaning of the Word "Family."

181

SIR,—It seems clear that the *mbumba* is quite distinct from the family (A). It definitely excludes the man himself, and may include a variety of persons other than "his" wife (or wives) and their dependant children, "own or adopted."

Mr. Cullen Young's letter (MAN, 1931, 126) confirms my opinion that the family (A) is a purely artificial conception—useless to the field-worker and dangerous to the theorist.

RAGLAN.

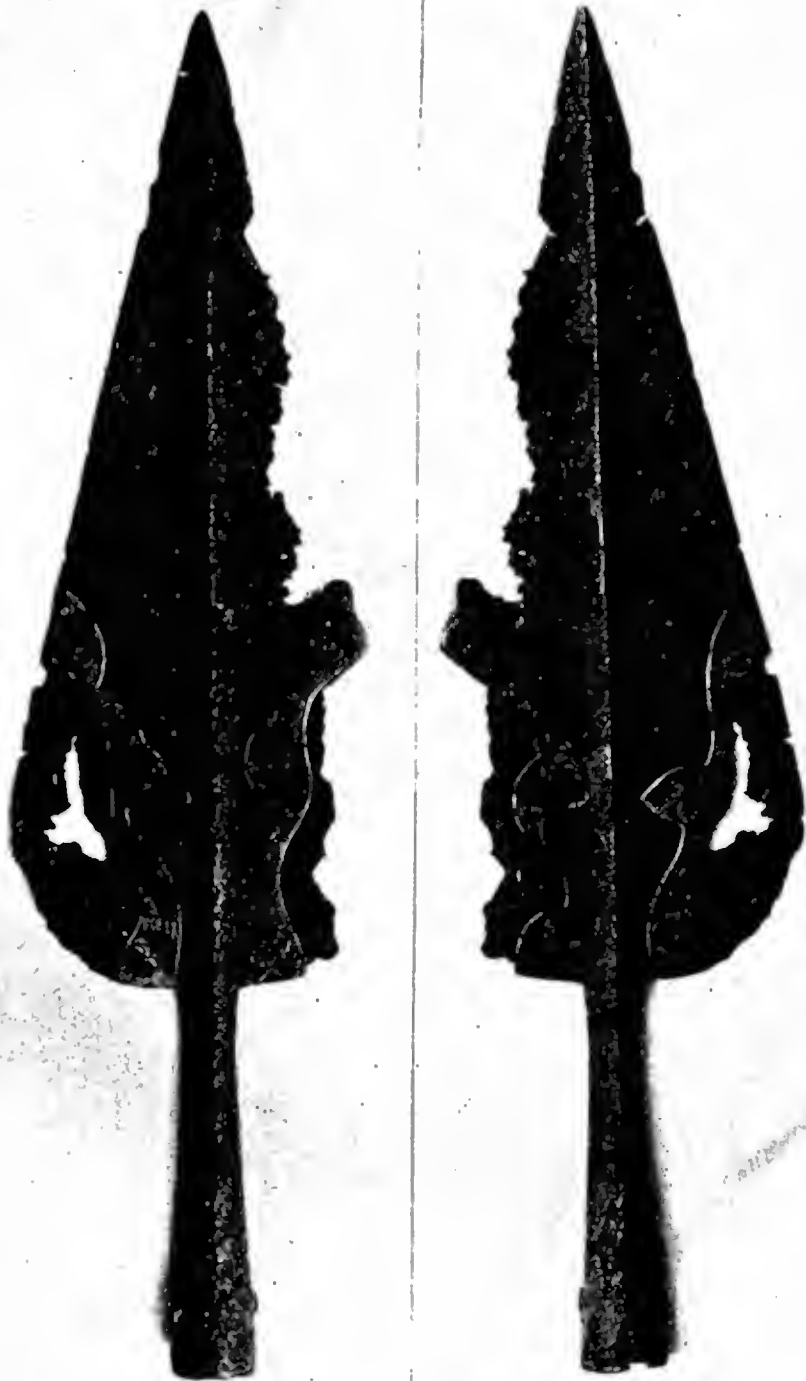


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.



AN ORNAMENTED SPEARHEAD OF LATE LA TÈNE PERIOD FROM THE THAMES AT LONDON.

FOR THE ENGRAVED BRONZE PLATES SEE ALSO FIGURE 3 IN THE TEXT

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 182-206.

SEPTEMBER, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

England: La Tène.

With Plate I-J.

Kendrick.

An Ornamented Spearhead of the late La Tène Period from the Thames at London. By T. D. Kendrick. **182**

The remarkable iron spearhead that is illustrated in Plate I-J. was found in the Thames at London and is the property of Captain John Ball, who has very kindly given me permission to publish it here.

It is 11·8 inches long and has a broad triangular blade with rounded base-angles; the wings are flat, but the blade itself is bisected on each face by a raised mid-rib, sharp-edged and of triangular section. This extends from tip to base, where it merges into the socket, which is faceted for a short length and then runs on, round-sectioned,

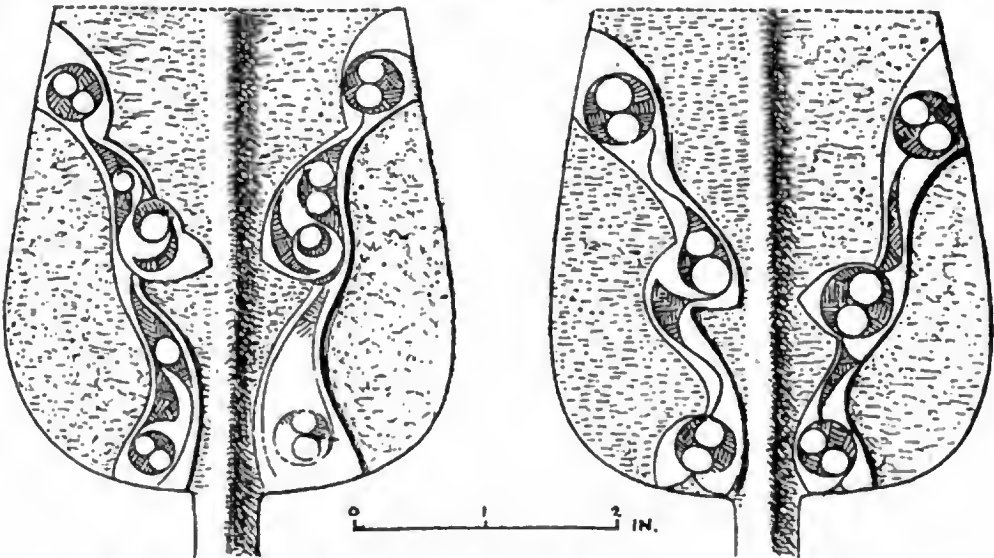


FIG. 3.—ENGRAVED BRONZE PLATES ON SPEARHEAD OF LATE LA TÈNE PERIOD.

to a mouth $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter that is bordered by a narrow groove; the socket is pierced $\frac{5}{8}$ in. above the mouth by an iron rivet with low, bronze-plated domed heads. The forging throughout is excellent and no trace of the annealed joint can be observed in the socket.

The chief interest of the spearhead lies, of course, in the bronze plates affixed to the lower part of the wings on each face (Fig. 3). They are thin strips of metal with bevelled edges, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and they were applied as four separate pieces, being fastened in position by a number of neat little pins, of which two have the heads traversed by the engraved lines of the ornament on the plates. No two of these plates are alike, but each is cut into a sinuous form with eccentric leaf-shaped

protuberances and each is ornamented with an incised design in which a disc-ended, S-shaped scroll, set off against a basket-work background, is the principal element. The pattern is not in the best tradition of this sort of work, and it will be noticed that most of the scrolls are simply represented by two adjacent and equal-sized discs in a circular field of basket-work. Just as the shape of each strip is different from that of the others, so, too, is the engraved ornament different in each of the four plates.

The spearhead itself is of a form that would be fairly confidently dated in the La Tène period,* even without its ornamental plates, and the mere fact that it is ornamented is not a very astonishing thing, since a surprisingly large number of decorated La Tène spearheads have been found abroad,† and two or three are known in Ireland as well.‡ Yet this single English specimen is unique not just because it is the only decorated La Tène spearhead from this country, but unique among all decorated La Tène spearheads, continental and British, because of the manner of its ornament. For the other examples are decorated by inlay, or by incised or openwork devices, in the iron blade, and Captain Ball's alone has its decoration in the form of applied plates of a different metal.

In the matter of sheer richness of decoration, I should think that this Thames spearhead must take third place in the whole series, a specimen from Switzerland§ and another from Hungary|| surpassing it. But Captain Ball's spearhead, which is much later in date than these other two, is certainly their equal in archaeological interest. It must be assigned, I suppose, to the middle of the first century A.D.,¶ and I think it may safely be said that on stylistic grounds, it is a not unimportant document for the study of "Celtic" art in this country, marking as it does the almost complete disappearance of the spacious, fluid elegance of the earlier foliate design. Nevertheless, despite an increasing indulgence in spiritless conventions and a tendency to solidify into a hard, compact pattern, I would not call these engraved plates wholly degenerate. For I think we can still detect here, in some small degree, a virile and enduring quality, an underlying, authentic La Tène excellence that is sufficient to remind us that even at the beginning of the Roman Period Celtic art in Britain had a future as well as a past.

T. D. KENDRICK.

Melanesia.

Williams.

Bwara Awana Houses on Normanby Island. By F. E. Williams, **183**
Government Anthropologist, Territory of Papua.

In "The Sexual Life of Savages" (p. 234, footnote), Professor Malinowski has mentioned the "small hut with a very high front gable" which is found in Normanby Island of the d'Entrecasteaux Group. These huts were said to pass under the name of "the entrance of the body" and were reputed to be the scene of certain orgiastic performances. He quotes this as a piece of verbal information, and he was naturally unable to verify it by personal observation. As I recently had occasion to make a flying trip through Normanby, I have thought it worth while to write what little I was able to discover in the time about these houses and their use.

The *bwara awana* (as they are called at Darubia on the East coast) or the *mwadari* (as they are called at Sewa Bay on the West) are very tall, narrow,

* Cf., for instance, P. Vouga, *La Tène* (1923), Pl. IX.

† G. Kossinna, *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie* XXXVII (1905), p. 369; M. Jahn, *Bewaffnung der Germanen*, *Mannus-Bibl.* 16, p. 61.

‡ *Proc. R. Irish Acad.* XXIV. (1902-4), pp. 263-4; XXVIII (1909-10), p. 102.

§ E. Vouga, *Les Helvètes à La Tène*, Neuchâtel, 1885, Pl. V. *Brit. Mus. Iron Age Guide* (1926), Fig. 16.

|| *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, XXXVII, p. 374, Fig. 3.

¶ See Mr. G. C. Dunning's remarks, *Arch. Journ.*, LXXXV, p. 71.

gable-shaped structures to be found standing among the ordinary houses of the village. In the course of my journey (which was during July) I saw none that were actually in use; in fact, the best examples were already somewhat neglected and out of repair, and others were represented by heaps of timber on the ground. But the custom with which these houses are connected has not died out, and at a more fortunate season of the year one might have seen them in use and have obtained a more reliable idea of their function. As it is I can report only the verbal evidence of my informants upon the question of principal interest, viz., whether they really are associated with orgiastic practices.

The distribution of these *bwara awana* is shown roughly by the shaded part of the map (Fig. 1). It is probable that the distribution is actually somewhat wider, especially toward the south. A European, previously a recruiter, informs he that he saw them a good many years ago above Kelelogea on the coast of Sawataitai Bay. But it appears pretty certain that they did not belong to that further portion of Normanby which is properly called Duau, nor to the south-eastern part of the island. On the northern side, according to native informants, *bwara awana* were formerly made in Sisiana, but never at Ubuia or further north; and I have no evidence that they ever existed in Dobu or on Fergusson.

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF NORMANBY ISLAND.



FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF NORMANBY ISLAND.

Being without photographic plates I had to rely on sketches made on the spot (Figs. 2 and 3). In construction the *bwara awana* appears to be really a miniature house of the ordinary "saddleback" variety found in the d'Entrecasteaux Islands, but with the anterior gable extended to enormously disproportionate size. The peak of the gable is 25 feet, more or less, from the ground; and as the house is hardly more than 4 feet in width it presents a sufficiently remarkable appearance. The striking feature is the high, gaping mouth, somewhat reminiscent of the *ravi* or men's house of the Purari Delta. The two sides of this gaping entrance are supported by poles (*etoasa*) curving inward and meeting at the apex; and these should be faced from top to bottom by thin adzed boards (*barawa*). At the apex they are met by a tall pole or slender post (*eto-etoro*) which stands directly in front of the house. As the gable leans slightly forward such an additional support is no doubt necessary. The whole is thatched with palm leaf. The low walls (*sipa*) are neatly made with adzed planks or sheets of palm spathe. The floor (*seya*), which is wider at the front than at the rear, always has a pronounced downward slope. Towards the rear there stands a little wall made of sago midribs which partly cuts off a compartment called *gabura*. This *gabura*, as will be seen from the side elevation, is itself, roughly speaking, a model of the typical saddleback house, while the whole forward portion, called *ruma-ruma*, seems to be structurally an extension. The rear compartment is only about 3 feet

6 inches long and so constricted that nobody could remain inside; moreover, it is partially shut front and rear. It is, in fact, meant only for yams.

The names given above are those used at Darubia. Under Fig. 3 they are repeated, together with their equivalents as used at Sewa Bay. Informants were unable to interpret these names except in one or two instances. In the phrase *bwara awana*, *awana* means "open," though I cannot suggest the meaning of *bwara*. *Gebura* means "underneath, below"; *ebusuna*, "nose"; *tupa* is the ordinary word for the peaks of the saddleback house.

When the *bwara awana* is in use the front part is not open and empty as it appears in the drawing. It is crossed and recrossed by sticks or rails, forming a framework for loads of food; and as the feast for which these buildings are erected draws near, I am

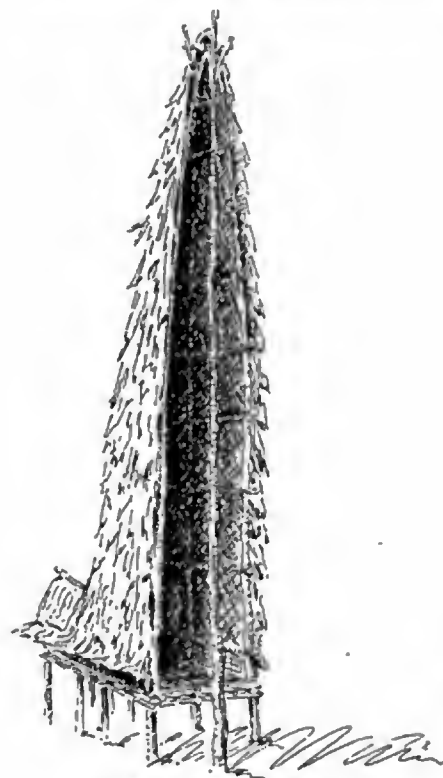


FIG. 2.—FRONT VIEW.

Height	-	-	25 ft. approx.
Length	-	-	12 „ „
Width	-	-	4 „ „

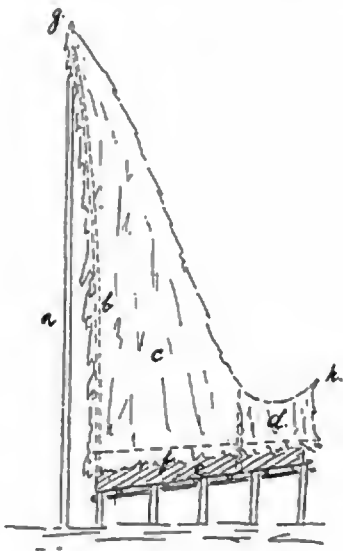


FIG. 3.—SIDE ELEVATION.

Parts of the House.	Darubia.	Sewa Bay.
a. Central Pole	- eto-etoro	- yabi-yabi.
b. Side Poles	- etoasa	- badi.
c. Front Compartment	ruma-ruma	lelesamsamua.
d. Rear Compartment	- gabura	- gabura.
e. Floor	- seya	- boima.
f. Side Wall	- sipa	- ?
g. Front Peak	- ?	- ebusuna.
h. Rear Peak	- ?	- tupa.

FIGS. 2-3.—BWARA AWANA HOUSES ON NORMANBY ISLAND.

assured that the whole of the upper part of the interior is filled with yams and other vegetables. Only the lower part is left free. This space, between a sloping triangulate floor and a roof composed of masses of yams, is just big enough to accommodate a couple of sleepers.

The *bwara awana* are erected in connection with a mortuary feast. In the Darubia district I came upon the remains of fifteen of them in one village. Not very long previously a young man named Geboarina had died, and the feast, or series of feasts, for which these particular *bwara awana* had been erected was instituted by his maternal uncle. Various relatives of the deceased had each undertaken

the responsibility of making a *bwara awana* and stocking it with yams and other food. The diagram of the village (Fig. 4) shows the disposition of the *bwara awana* and of the ordinary dwelling places.* The centre of the village was occupied by (a) *Ariari*, a box-like structure some 4 feet high which had formerly been filled with yams, and which, in the days of village burial, would have stood directly over the grave of the deceased; (b) *Tarabo*, the high platform on which the pigs were exposed and butchered; and (c) *Bose*, a charmingly decorated miniature house which purported to be also a storehouse for yams.

I do not attempt to give a full account of the mourning ceremonies; indeed, the time at my disposal was not sufficient to obtain anything like satisfaction. However, the *bwara awana* are put up some months after the death has occurred, when, in fact, the yam harvest has begun. They are then partly stocked with yams, the rear compartment (*gabura*) being first filled. From now on there takes place a succession of nightly dances, which may continue for two or three months. Small parties of guests from near-by villages are entertained, but there is as yet no distribution of food on a large scale.

Eventually, however, these dances are to culminate in an important feast at which the signs of mourning will be discarded. When the time for this draws near the structures (a), (b) and (c) in the centre of the village are made ready and the *bwara awana* are fully stocked with yams, taro, bananas, and so forth. I was not lucky enough to see them at this stage, but I imagine they then present the appearance of food-racks, i.e., of structures which are meant especially for the display of food at a feast. The design of the *bwara awana* is seen to be well adapted to such a purpose. It is essentially a yam house, with a lofty open front where a great part of the food is on view to the multitude. There is little doubt in my own mind that this is the primary purpose of these rather strange buildings.

But we have still to consider the question of their reputed association with orgiastic practices. At all stages, even when the *bwara awana* is fully stocked, there remains an open space for the accommodation of sleepers. Now the native makes no secret of the fact that this convenient space is frequently occupied by amorous couples. During the minor preliminary dances, which do not last the night through, a boy and girl may retire from the dance and spend the remainder of the night together in one of the *bwara awana*. But it is made quite plain that they are not under any obligation to choose this particular place. There are the ordinary dwellings of the village and also the surrounding bush at their disposal. Nevertheless, the *bwara awana* is handy and inviting, and there need be no doubt that it is very frequently put to the above-mentioned use. In fact it seems that, beyond serving as



FIG. 4.—PLAN OF VILLAGE.

Rectangles	Dwellings.
Triangles	. <i>Bwara awana</i> .
(a) -	. <i>Ariari</i> .
(b) -	. <i>Tarabo</i> .
(c) -	. <i>Bose</i> .

* Below, although it may seem hardly relevant, are shown the relations in which the builder of each *bwara awana* stood to the deceased.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Tasina</i> (brother). | 6. <i>Mwanena</i> (wife). | 11. <i>Nibana</i> (cousin? male). |
| 2. <i>Eiana</i> (sister's husband). | 7. " " | 12. " " |
| 3. <i>Numa</i> (sister). | 8. <i>Tasina</i> (brother). | 13. <i>Tamana</i> (father). |
| 4. " " | 9. <i>Numa</i> (sister). | 14. <i>Tasina</i> (brother). |
| 5. " " | 10. <i>Tasina</i> (brother). | 15. <i>Numa</i> (sister). |

In three cases (viz., 5 and 9, 6 and 7, 11 and 12), two *bwara awana* had been built by one person. It will be noted that female relatives as well as male undertake the responsibility of building.

a food-rack, it serves as a place of accommodation. There is likely to be something of a crowd at the dance, therefore it behoves the village to provide extra sleeping accommodation, especially places where young people can keep to themselves. Sometimes, I am assured, the *bwara awana* is occupied by a married couple among the guests.

A fact of significance is that only girls from other villages enter the *bwara awana*. I am not aware that a girl of the home village is actually forbidden to enter, but it is not the custom for her to spend the night or entertain lovers there. If she makes an assignation with any boy, she will receive him in her own house in the ordinary way. It is the guest girl only who meets her lover in the *bwara awana*.

Further, it appears that the usual—one might say the regular—occupants of the *bwara awana* are young men and boys. The youths of the village are privileged to use those that their parents have made, and here they sleep night after night or when it pleases them. The youth appears to regard the *bwara awana* rather as his own claim, but he is never exclusive or a dog-in-the-manger. To give a particular instance, a *bwara awana* has been erected by a man Tokini on account of his father's death. As a sleeping place it belongs especially to Tokini's son, Loraku, who is a young man. Loraku says he has slept there very frequently, sometimes in company with other boys. Sometimes he has been away, and then others may have slept in it, for they were welcome to do so. Loraku was a smart young man who was apparently as good at arithmetic as he was at love, and without much difficulty he added up a total of 27 different girls with whom he had conducted amours in his time. Yet he had slept with only two in this *bwara awana*. Whether in his absence other youths had taken girls into the *bwara awana* he did not know and did not care. As all agreed, the place, if unoccupied, was at the disposal of any couple. But the fact appears to be that it is more often occupied merely by sleepy young men and boys.

Now it is possible that in the day or so which I was able to give to this question I might have failed to win confidence and confession; this latter word would meet the case even where missionary influence is only distant and indirect. I can only say that I got no hint of any sexual orgies carried out in the *bwara awana*, or of any kind of licence beyond what I have described. It did not appear that any one girl received a succession of lovers therein, although, on the other hand, different girls might be taken there at different times by the same or by different boys. It is true that the places remained quite open, having nothing in the nature of a door, and anyone who was inquisitively inclined might surprise the occupants at their love-making. But, as my informants observed, the place is in darkness and the other people are intent on their own business, dancing or whatever else; and they are not unduly inquisitive.

It was suggested to me that these gabled buildings symbolized the male organ in their lateral and the female in their frontal aspect. Native informants, however, gave me no gratuitous evidence which might support this idea, and I forebore—or perhaps neglected—to stimulate them by any leading hints. I regret not having recorded the names of the various parts of the building more fully, and also my inability to interpret such names as I did record, for these may have done something to substantiate the above-mentioned idea; though, to be sure, the name of the most salient feature, viz., *ebusuna* or “nose,” hardly seems in keeping with it. Readers may be left to judge from a fairly faithful sketch how far they think the interpretation is justified.

On the whole—although it must be admitted that a deeper enquiry might elicit something further—I was not successful in discovering anything of an orgiastic nature in connection with the *bwara awana*; and it seems that they hardly deserve the disgraceful name (which I heard in the d'Entrecasteaux) “houses of ill fame.” They may, I think, be more or less adequately accounted for as (1) food-racks or structures for the display of food at a feast, and (2) as places of extra accommodation for lovers and others during a succession of dances.

F. E. WILLIAMS.

Britain:

Tildesley.

**Report on Human Skeleton from a depth of 13 ft. near 184
Grosvenor Road, Westminster. By M. L. Tildesley.**

On 24th October, 1929, during excavation of a site at the corner of Page Street and Grosvenor Road, near the Middlesex end of Lambeth footbridge, a human skeleton was exposed, 13 to 14 ft. from the surface. Its preservation is due to the initiative and sound judgment of Sir Frank Baines, exercised in spite of dissuasion from an archæologist who expressed the opinion that "the man is probably 500 years old but is absolutely of no value whatever," and suggested that the bones should be buried as soon as possible. Sir Frank Baines thought otherwise, and at his request his brother, Mr. H. Baines, reported both this find and another of a horse's skeleton to Major A. G. Church, D.S.O., M.P., stating: "I have had the skeleton boxed up and put in charge of the Superintendent of Works pending a possible investigation by someone competent to advise. It has occurred to me that from the strata in which the skeletons were found, which is between 13 and 14 ft. below the surface of the ground, and in a material which is technically known as 'bungam,' which is a sort of muddy clay—that the placing of the age of the skeletons at 500 years may be entirely wrong, and we should have, I think, a responsibility in retaining any evidence which may be of general scientific interest. Sir Frank has suggested that I ask you if you can get some competent authority to look at the bones and see if they possess any scientific value." Major Church therefore approached Sir Arthur Keith, and the skeletal remains were accordingly sent to the Royal College of Surgeons for examination, and eventually presented to its museum. Sir Arthur Keith examined the bones, and made a preliminary report upon them; owing to his departure abroad shortly afterwards, however, it then devolved upon me to complete the investigation in the light of the further data which Sir Frank Baines and his staff spared no effort to furnish.

The various items of evidence assembled fall under three headings: (1) condition and conformation of the bones; (2) stratification; (3) posture of skeleton.

I. *Character of Bones.*—Sir Arthur Keith reported that the remains were those of a man, rather tall and slim, his height being estimated at about 5 ft. 10 in. The skull is imperfect, the occipital and the greater portion of the left side of the cranial box and of the face being absent. Enough remains, however, to show that it is long, low, and wide in shape. The bones are well preserved, with the dark-brown colouring usually found in bones that have lain in or under the peat. Having understood (though in error) that they were, in fact, found below the peat, he expected them to date from the Bronze Age rather than from some later period. "But," he said, "such men have usually short and high heads. . . . His head is so unlike that of the Bronze Age type that I think he must belong to a later date." Summing up the evidence available he concluded that "it is not possible to assign a definite date or race to the skeleton found at the Grosvenor Road site, but such evidence as there is points to a Briton of the Roman or pre-Roman period."

II. *Position of Remains and Age of Stratum.*—The site was about 98 ft. from the existing river bank, and, as Mr. H. Baines had stated, the skeleton lay at a depth of 13–14 ft. below the surface, in a stratum of muddy blue clay, technically known as "bungam." Its level in relation to the existing river level is given by the following scale:—

Trinity mean high-water level, Spring Tides	...	...	O.D. plus	12.50
Level of skeleton	...	...	O.D. plus	3.00
Trinity mean low-water level, Spring Tides	...	...	O.D. minus	7.00

The accompanying section (Fig. 1) supplied by Sir Frank Baines illustrates both the relative levels and also the stratification at the site; the letter which accompanied it stated as follows: "The skeleton . . . was not as you appear to think

PARTICULARS OF POSITION OF SKELETON WITH RELATION
TO STRATA & THE RIVER THAMES
STRATA FORMATION BUILT UP FROM BORINGS MADE ON THE SITE OF THAMES HOUSE
AND IN THE RIVER THAMES.

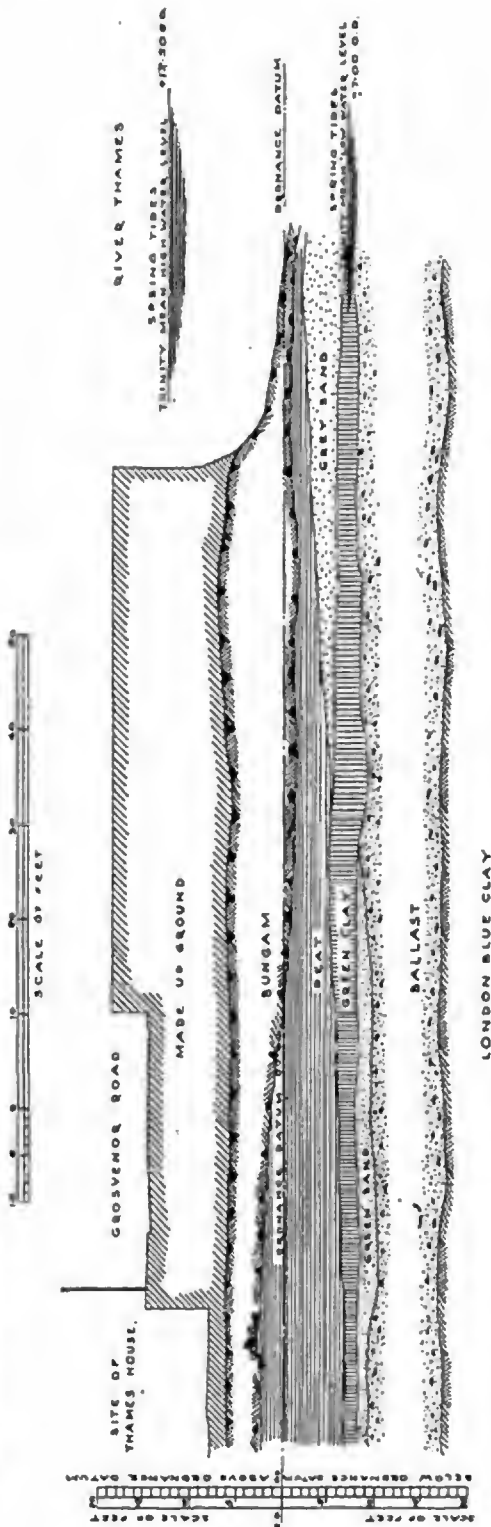


FIG. 1. SECTION IN
GROSVENOR ROAD,
SHOWING SKELETON IN
"BUNGAM" LAYER.

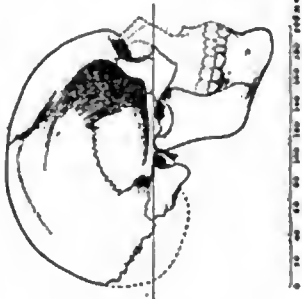


FIG. 2. SKULL IN
SIDE VIEW: (*norma*
lateralis).



FIG. 3. SKULL IN
TOP VIEW: (*norma*
verticalis).

" on the top of the bungam and underneath the peat, but just the reverse. The skeleton was lying on top of the peat and covered with bungam, and the bones had actually to be picked out of the bungam piecemeal. It must be mentioned that the mechanical digger first exposed the skeleton, and in consequence may have caused slight shifting of position from that in which it was at rest in the subsoil." The lie of the skeleton and the sequence of strata are thus definitely established; but direct evidence as to the age of the strata, which would probably have been supplied in the course of hand-digging, even had no archæologist been there to make observations, were all lost in the work of the mechanical digger. We must therefore turn to any indirect evidence that may be available. The section drawing has accordingly been sent to the Geological Survey, and brought the following reply from Mr. Henry Dewey: " I am afraid I cannot speak with certainty as to the age of the peat, but a similar section was exposed when foundations for Government offices were dug by Storey's Gate. There a bed of peat 6 ft. thick was proved overlain by relics of Roman times." In this similar section, then, half a mile away from our site, there were Roman relics in the bungam above the peat.

On the other—the south—side of Storey's Gate, is the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. Mr. Bromehead has recorded in a MS. note that it " stands on what appears to be a wharf, and the roadway in Prince's Street was possibly an inlet of the Thames. The contractors excavated the piling and black earth (formerly doubtless faggots), and gradually came to a fine Thames sand at a depth of 23 ft. below the roadway."*

Another item of information may be quoted from the volume on London (Roman) published by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1928, relating to a find within the precincts of Westminster Abbey (p. 148): " In digging the foundations of the new Canons' houses in the Abbey gardens in 1883, remains of a Roman ' dwelling ' were found at a depth of 14 ft.; they consisted of slabs of concrete flooring, roof-tiles, and other rubbish. Similar remains to those last described are said to have been discovered also in the Cloister (*Arch. Journ.*, XVII, 274)." This records no information as to stratification, but some information may be gathered from another source. F. C. J. Spurrell, in the *Archæol. Journ.* for 1885, says: " In the Roman time the Thorn-eye on which Westminster Abbey Church stands, consisted of sand surrounded, or nearly so, with peat or marshland. The hard part of the little island where there was no peat was apparently covered with Roman buildings." Thorney was cut off from our Grosvenor Road site by an arm of the Tyburn, which flowed where Great College Street now runs. But the rate of deposit which has raised the land surfaces at these two points, only a few hundred yards apart, was presumably much the same, in which case the finding of Roman remains at about the same depth as our skeleton, together with the evidence from Storey's Gate, enables us to infer that at our site the land surface in Roman times was at some part of the bungam layer well below the high-tide level of today.

This inference is quite consistent with what is known of the gradual rise in river-level. As a result of his investigations of Roman and pre-Roman remains below high-tide level on the banks of the Thames at Brentford, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler states that in Romano-British times the Thames at high tide " must have been 15 ft. or more below its present level in relation to the existing land-surface; and it is probable that the tide, which now flows inland as far as Teddington, scarcely extended at that time above the site of London Bridge " (*Antiquity*, 1929, p. 29). Thus, both the river and the land-surface along its banks have risen since the Roman period. Moreover, Dr. Wheeler found evidence that this process had been going on in the centuries which preceded the Roman occupation: underneath the Roman

* I am indebted to Mr. Dewey for this note.

level at Brentford were great quantities of potsherds "Hallstatt" in type, dating from that period subsequent to the Bronze Age, when iron gradually came into common use. "We may therefore suppose that in the 'Hallstatt' period, the Thames at Brentford was a tideless stream, only half the width perhaps of the present tidal river, and that in Romano-British times, although it may have grown in size, it had yet scarcely reached the low-tide level" (*loc. cit.*).

To sum up our various items of circumstantial evidence, then, it seems probable that part of our 6 ft. layer of bungam was being laid down in the course of the 400 years of Roman occupation. How far up the bungam layer we must place the land-surface at the beginning of our era we cannot say. If the accretions in the Abbey gardens have been added at approximately the same rate, then very little, if any, of the bungam could be considered pre-Roman, but we cannot rely too heavily upon this assumption.

In order to leave no stone unturned that might reveal evidence as to the date of the strata, the horse's skull was submitted to Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson for a report. The horse's skeleton, we are informed, "was found in the peat at a distance of about 150 ft. inland, in a south-westerly direction from the human skeleton." The latter was 98 ft. inland, and the two finds would therefore be some 70 ft. apart. Dr. Jackson reports: "I am afraid there is not much evidence as to the date to be gathered from the remains. The absence of the anterior part of the skull makes it awkward for ascertaining the length, etc. On the whole, I should say that the horse belongs to the broad-browed type recognized by Professor Ewart as the Forest Horse (*Equus caballus typicus*), examples of which were found in the Roman Fort at Newstead, near Melrose. The remains of horses of the Forest type were common in the South of England in Pleistocene times. Whether the Westminster horse is Roman or later I cannot say, but the remains do not suggest any great age. They do not appear to belong to pre-Roman small horses in possession of the Ancient Britons."

As far as this evidence goes—and we certainly cannot stress it—it would point rather to a Roman than an Early Iron Age date, if the alternatives were reduced to these two. But we do not know whether the skeleton was complete and likely to have been buried: if so, the horse was contemporary with a land-surface some feet higher up. If the skeleton was laid down with the peat, its type seems to offer the latter a choice of dates ranging back to the Ice Age!—though, of course, its state of preservation and other considerations would prevent our going back to anywhere near the limits of this range.

III. *Posture of the Human Skeleton.*—Enquiries were made concerning posture; also, the first report having stated that "no metal of any kind was found near either skeleton," I enquired concerning the thoroughness of the search for these or other artefacts. Sir Frank Baines replied as follows: "The skeleton was first seen lying on its left side, the knees apparently bent in about a right-angle position to the trunk; the head was pointing in a south-westerly direction. It was first observed by an inspector on the site, but was actually abstracted under the supervision of my superintendent, a man of some considerable experience, and he is not unmindful of the value of such finds, and it was he also who made a thorough search and failed to find any nails or metal, etc., adjacent to the skeleton. I think it is quite likely, had there been anything, he would have noticed it."

Search by a trained archaeologist might perhaps have revealed some kind of artefact in the neighbourhood of the skeleton; but in any case we have no evidence of this kind now. We have only the posture and orientation of the skeleton to go upon. To begin with, we may assume that this was the body of a man who was deliberately buried below ground. There is, as we have seen, evidence that this district was not entirely unoccupied in Romano-British times; but even if the man lay

down and died here and his body was left to decay unnoticed by man, it is unlikely that it would have remained unnoticed by wild animals, such as wolves, and been left intact. Some might suggest that he was perhaps drowned, arguing that even if high-tide level here, as at Brentford, was normally 15 ft. or more below that of today, and therefore some 6 ft. below the level of the skeleton, there were doubtless such things as floods then as now. But one can retort that drowned bodies, when they begin to float, do not float on their sides, with the knees bent, and do not therefore come to rest on the river-bed in that position; and if the floods receded before this stage of decomposition was reached, the body would be an attraction to wild animals, as before.

The man, then, was buried; and since the grave would not be likely to be less than 2 ft. deep, and since his position was at the bottom of the bungam layer and lying on the peat, we may infer that 2 ft. or more of the bungam 6 ft. layer had been laid down at the time when he died; so the land-surface was then 11 ft. or less below the present one. The posture in which he was buried was one adopted in many periods of the world's history, from palæolithic times onward, but in England the last people that seem to have used it were those native Britons who still retained this custom after conquest by Rome. Extended burial, however, gradually took its place, and burial in the contracted position is not found after about the middle of the Roman period, though the earlier Anglo-Saxon burials were sometimes rather careless, the legs not always laid out quite straight nor the body flat on its back. Accordingly we learn from its posture that this man was not buried later than about the middle of the Roman occupation, and that he was not one of the foreign invaders, but a native Briton.

Our lower limiting date being thus fixed by posture, what of our upper limiting date? Will the orientation help, seeing that many different races, religions, etc., at various periods in the world's history have adopted some rule in this matter? In Britain—though the Early Iron Age groups in Yorkshire and the rather later Early Iron Age group at Harlyn Bay seemed to have some predilection for head north—we have no evidence as to an invariable orientation in any pre-Christian period; so the direction of the head in the case in question cannot be interpreted as significant of any period in particular. We turn, therefore, to the evidence of the bones themselves: these, as we have seen, make a period as early as the Bronze Age most unlikely, so the choice is reduced to the Early Iron Age and the first half of the Roman period. Does the evidence from stratification and depth narrow the issue at all? We have seen that when the man was buried the land-surface would be not more than 11 ft. at most below the present level, and that Roman remains have been found 14 ft. below ground only a few hundred yards down stream at about the same distance from the river. This tends to predispose us against a date much, if at all, earlier than the Roman period for our burial, though again the argument cannot be stressed.

To sum up, therefore, on the balance of the evidence we conclude that our skeleton was that of a native Briton who died perhaps a few centuries before our era, perhaps at some time in the first three centuries A.D. Our investigation has confirmed the wisdom of Sir Frank Baines' refusal to accept a verdict that "the man was probably 500 years old" given without any scientific sifting of the facts. And as to the remains being "quite worthless" an assurance can be given that no well-dated human remains ancient or modern are worthless contributions towards the abundant material which the physical anthropologist needs in order to trace the changes which have taken place in the physical features of the inhabitants of Britain from the earliest ages to the present day. The value of any skeletal material depends upon the accuracy with which it can be assigned to a given race or period. If the circumstances of finding had made it possible for the work to be suspended until the skeleton could be examined *in situ* by a competent archaeologist, evidence might have been discovered which would make the dating in this case more definite and

exact. But that being impossible, we owe to Sir Frank Baines and his staff the preservation of the remains together with sufficient evidence to make possible an estimate of race and at least an approximate estimate of date. M. L. TILDESLEY.

Rhodesia: Totemism.

Bullock.

Totemism among the Mashona Tribes. *By Charles Bullock.*

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In the popular series of the "History of Civilization"—more particularly in the volume "From Tribe to Empire"—Moret and Davy find that totemism is the cohesive religious force which binds together the clan; and they regard the clan as the first social grouping, and therefore the foundation of human society.

This bond of totemism, they consider, "may be analysed into a sort of mystic communion which is not the physical community of blood." It is rather "the diffuse soul of the primitive clan"—a subtle collective principle which is compared to the *mana* of Melanesia and to the *ka* of Ancient Egypt. "There is nothing in the universe," it is added, "which is not embraced in the totemic system, which thus forms a sacred cosmology completing the religion of the totem."

Totemism, then, assumes an importance which renders it desirable that its manifestations among all primitive peoples should be noted; and, so far as I am aware, the Mashona tribes have hitherto been neglected in this respect. I am therefore emboldened to record my observations.

To begin with, and to make sure that it is totemism with which we are dealing, let me state that the totemism of the Mashona has the following attributes:—

It is bound up with exogamy.

The totem name is a cognomen used, more or less, in the Roman sense.

It serves as a ceremonial form of address, to which there are prescribed laudatory and allusive responses; and there are also inhibitions regarding its use between the sexes.

It serves also as a social bond between members of the same clan; and sometimes as a collective designation of the clan.

It is used as a clan oath.

A taboo, or partial taboo, is attached to the animal, part of carcass, or even organ of the body, the name of which is used or implied in the totem word; and there are magical sanctions enforcing such taboo, *e.g.*, the loss of the taboo-breaker's teeth.

These attributes will suffice to show that it is totemism with which we deal; and I may now be permitted to particularize regarding the Mashona tribes, and give my observations of the characteristics of totemism among them.

I have classified their totems, or totem words, together with the ceremonial responses attached to them; and it is suggested that there is an implication that these totem names are unreal; and that the hypostasis which lies beneath their usage is the inhibition of the sister's womb. That taboo extends, of course, to all who are addressed as sister in the classificatory system of relationship of the Mashona. In fact it extends to all of the opposite sex who have the same totem, and the same *chidawo* or laudatory response.

In my classification I have separated what I call the clue totems; and these are either secret names of the uterus, or have a more or less direct reference to one or other of the generative organs.

Other totem words *apparently* designate the animals, etc., which have been thought to be the mystic allies or ancestors of the clans. But there are connecting links between many of these animal totems (or totem words) and the clue totems. There are verifiable traditions of a deliberate change of the name of the clan totem from the matrilineal name to that of the creature or object. Also, when the totem

word is pronounced ceremonially and the prescribed response given, we may still find words and phrases which point to the probability that the totem words are allusive, and suggest hidden meanings; which, I submit, may have the sexual or generative implications of the clue totems.

Let me state here, however, that I have so far failed to find a connecting link between the clue totems and several of the others.

Let us now turn to the clan oaths, in one of which a man may swear by his sister, or by his totem. "They are the same thing," he says.

What is the significance of this? How can a man say that an otter, for example, is the same as his sister?

I suggest that it is simply because when he swears by the totem *word* for otter, he does not really mean the animal. He means something associated with the great "pool" totem; and the "pool" is totemically the same as *ngonya*, which is a totemic word meaning the female generative organ, and which is still in use as the totem of an important clan.

This clan has a legend connecting its totem (or totem word) with the clan ancestor and his sister; and relating the penalty for breaking the clan oath to sexual thought—to the conception of incest especially.

And it is, of course, the taboo against incest with which we are chiefly concerned, for exogamy and the prohibition against incest are essentially the same thing; and, *pace* Sir James Frazer, the connection between totemism and exogamy is undoubted, at any rate among the Mashona.

But, besides showing a direct connection between the principle of exogamy and the totem word of one sept, the legend in its native phraseology also furnishes links with totemic words and phrases of other exogamous groups; and those key-words have reference to sexual thought.

The underlying thought of sex is also strongly implied in the behaviour pattern governing the use of all totem words. If a married woman were to be addressed by her totem name by a man, her husband would consider it evidence of criminal conversation; and he, himself, uses the word only in the privacy of her hut. So also does the wife behave towards her husband; nor will another modest woman use his totem word, although it is also his cognomen. She should use the *chidaiwo*—the laudatory or allusive response or phrase of praise attached to his totem word.

It should be stated, however, that, except by old women who do use her own totem word, a married woman should be addressed by the *chidaiwo* or laudatory response of her husband's totem. This does not seem to be altogether in consonance with the tentative theory advanced, although the restriction in the use of the totem word to women who are past bearing only has probably a sex implication.

Other observations could be adduced to show that, with the Mashona, sexual thought is the inherent attribute of totemism; and that other manifestations can be explained as ideas which have emerged from secondary thoughts which have still traces of association with the primary concept.

But, it may be asked, to what end, in view of the fact that Durkheim and others long ago recognized that totemism is bound up with exogamy, and that exogamy is essentially a sexual prohibition?

I will attempt to show that the tentative theories I propound carry us further than this, and imply a refutation of the generalized definitions of totemism now widely accepted.

Selecting a few of these, Durkheim considered that the totem is something animate or inanimate, most commonly an animal or plant from which the group is held to be descended; and which serves at once as emblem and collective name. Levy-Bruhl goes farther, and speaks of the mystic consubstantiality in which the individual, the ancestral being living again in him, and the animal or plant species

that forms his totem are all mingled. Frazer sees the tribal totem tending to pass into an anthropomorphic god; while Moret and Davy see in it the diffuse soul of the clan, the concentration and individualisation of which eventually realized itself in the Pharaonic incarnation, thus linking kingship with the past age of the totemic regime of diffused power.

But at least some grounds exist for supposing that, among the Mashona, the totem is none of these things, but that it is in its origin a mere implement of exogamy; and that its terms, however figurative most of them have become, have an allusion, an inner meaning and a connection with the ruder names which were originally used in the taboo against incest; which ruder names are still so used as totem words among some of the clans. The totem word really—if sometimes obscurely, designates that which is prohibited—the forbidden womb of the sister.

This thesis does more than imply that kinship thought in this Bantu tribe dominates the concept of totemism. It may reasonably be inferred from the data on which it is based that totemism is the functional part of the exogamic concept.

In a case recently before me, not the clan name, and not a defined kinship, but the totem word and *chidawo* of the mothers of the parties (who themselves were not of the same clan) was taken as the exogamic bar to marriage. At the same time the Chief who was giving evidence demonstrated, by mimicking the act of suckling, that this totemistic relationship was identical with physical kinship.

If this be the real nature of totemism, then the logical corollary is of first importance; for it can no longer be accepted that totemism is the *mana* or mystic force which bound together the clan, or the enlarged family, whichever may be considered to be the foundation of human society.

The exponents of the theory that the clan is the basic social group consider that it is exogamous *because* totemic, and that "the primitive family is not a restricted group of which the origin is marriage and the characteristic real consanguinity; but is a more extensive domestic group not founded on marriage, but on participation in a totem, like the clan; the primitive family being thus only a form of the clan specialised and differentiated hierarchically."

It is suggested that the cart may have been put before the horse, and that exogamy—that is, the prohibition of incest as conceived by the primitives—is implemented by the machinery of totemism. In other words, that the conception of totemism is not antecedent to that of exogamy, but follows it and is ancillary to it. It does not govern but is governed by it.

Examples can be given which will show that the segmentation of first societies among the Mashona actually altered the totemic regulations. That is to say that the practice of totemism was altered by changing conditions affecting the degree of strictness considered necessary in the observation of exogamy. The marriage of a man and woman of the same totem came to be permitted, provided the ceremonial counterparts of their totem words had been altered and become different.

There was (and is), too, a ceremony designed to absolve such people from the magical sanctions enforcing the taboo; and the name of this ceremony is *ku cheka wukama*—which is to cut the kinship (not the totem).

Is it not a reasonable conclusion that totemism followed exogamy—the artificial concept followed the natural thought?

I say natural thought, because it seems to me that if the inhibition of incest be not intuitive, then it must be admitted that it would very speedily become one of the primary human axioms, born of experience and of the concentrated thought given to this phase of life by the primitives; almost certainly the fruit of the forbidden womb would manifest the breach of a true natural law.

It is results that appeal to the mental processes of the uncivilized races, and a result such as the birth of an abnormal child, would be a matter of more concern

in a primitive group than we can readily realize to-day. I submit that such events would, of themselves, lead to the prohibition of incest, and so to the more extended laws of exogamy; and that, so far from exogamy being explained by totemism, and being one of its characteristics, it precedes it and uses it as its implement.

To admit this is to agree that the fundamental conscious thoughts of sex and generation must have come to humanity before there came an artificial structure used in their regulation.

Ultimately, indeed, it may be implied that we must pull down all that brilliant fabric which sustains the theories of the first social grouping being held together by totemism considered as "the tangible image of the impersonal and abstract principle of *mana*, at once religious and social, the totem being the outward and visible form of what we have called the totemic principle or God."

That structure cannot be said to have a sound foundation if it be proved that totemism is of the nature indicated in this paper.

It is not yet so demonstrated; and it is recognized that in other societies there are varying magical or ritualistic observances not found among the Mashona; and that on such data, theories of the origin and nature of totemism may be founded.

But it is submitted that we cannot argue from the particular to the general; and that the attribute of totemism common to all societies, viz., its connection with exogamy, is that from which an explanation of its basic principles should be sought.

The theory I propound at least furnishes a tentative explanation, and it may be considered that sufficient evidence has been adduced to justify the further investigation of an hypothesis based on observations which may be verified or discredited in an actual society among a living people numbering nearly a million—a people hitherto neglected as subjects of anthropological investigation.

CHARLES BULLOCK.

Africa, West: Pottery.

Nicholson.

The Potters of Sokoto:—B. Zorumawa:—C. Rumbukawa. By **186**
W. E. Nicholson: continued from MAN, 1929, 34.

(B.) Zorumawa:—Reference was made to the Zorumawa potters in an article dealing with the Adarawa potters of Sokoto in MAN, 1929, 34.

The Zorumawa rank as Fulani rather than Hausa and are said to be of hybrid Fulani and Mandingo extraction and to have immigrated from the West. I noticed one woman with Zamfara facial markings (Zamfara is S.E. of Sokoto); the rest, so far as I could see, had none.

Pottery is made by women only; in fact, the workers are aged widows who support themselves by the craft. They had learnt the trade as children, gave it up during the lifetime of their husbands, and took to it again in their old age. In theory, any girl who wished to learn the trade would be taken on as an apprentice, but in practice only their own or their near relatives' children assist them; girls do not care for such hard work as a rule. In the old days these women potters might be either slaves or free.

Preparation of the Clay.—The clay is dug by the banks of the Sokoto river, brought up to the potter's house and spread on a mat—the usual Sokoto mat woven from the split fronds of the Dum Palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*.) It is levigated by the addition of rice or millet chaff and of ground-up potsherds. The mixture is moistened and pounded as it lies on the mat with the ordinary long wooden pestle used for pounding grain. It is then made up into balls of suitable size.

Products.—The Zorumawa make only two kinds of pot; (i) a basin varying in size from four inches diameter to about fifteen inches (in Hausa—*kaskon wanka*) which is used for ablutionary purposes, and (ii) cooking pots (in Hausa—*tukuniya*) similar to those described previously in MAN, 1929, 34.

Building of the Pot.—The technique is similar to that of the Adarawa, but interesting as showing an earlier stage of development of the same idea. Instead of using a concave mould of baked clay, the Zorumawa shape a saucer-like depression in the ground, the sand removed from the centre being used to make a circular ridge round it, which rises slightly above the normal ground level.

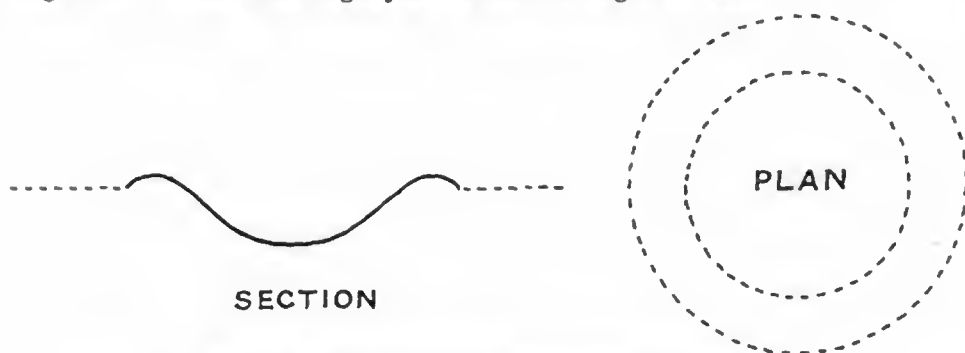


FIG. 1. SECTION AND PLAN OF POTTING-MAT IN POSITION.

Over this depression a mat is spread and the operator takes her seat with the right leg on the ground and bent back so that the heel comes almost to the crutch; the left leg is half bent and extended knee outwards in such a way that the hollow in the back of the leg between the heel and the bottom of the calf, lies just on the far side (to the

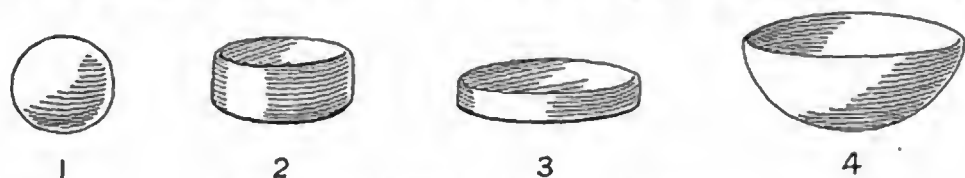


FIG. 2. FOUR STAGES OF ZORUMAWA POT-MAKING.

left) of the mat-covered depression. As the pot grows the further side of it is supported in this hollow just above the heel. The clay is beaten out with a hand-beater like those used by the Adarawa (MAN, 1929, 34, Plate C, Fig. 3, No. 5), but the clay is not made up into a "pancake" to start with. A spherical lump is placed in the depression and goes through the stages shown in fig. 2.

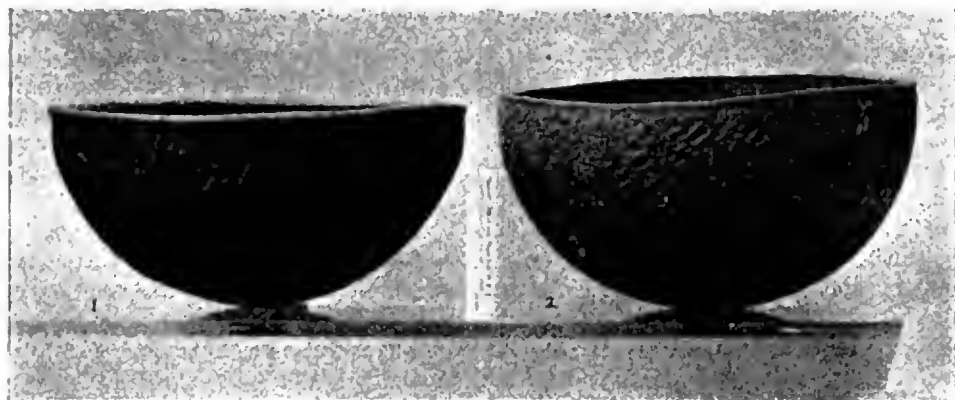


FIG. 3. TWO POTTERY BOWLS FROM BURAMAWA, SOKOTO, N. NIGERIA; GIVEN TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM (1930.6.9) BY W. E. NICHOLSON, ESQ.

Impressions of the mat in which the pots are pounded are retained on the finished bowls: No. 1 is black: No. 2 is red.

Ashes are used during the beating to prevent sticking. When the pot is finished the outside naturally shows faint impressions of the woven mat, which give a slight decorative effect (fig. 3.) It cannot be doubted, however, that the use of the mat is purely utilitarian—to keep the clay from contact with the sandy ground.

The Wash.—The pots are washed with the same mixture of red earth and water as that used by the Adarawa, but they are planished inside with a string of cowrie shells instead of baobab seeds.

Firing.—The pots are not burnt in a kiln, but in the open in a heap of grass and cornstalks.

Colour.—The pots are finished in two colours, red and black. After being red-washed and burnt once they are red; but if they are allowed to cool and then reburnt they become black and are then again polished inside with "gum Arabic."

The *Tukuniya* is made similarly, and a decoration is placed on the neck in the same way that the Adarawa decorate the *Tulu*, except that in place of a piece of twisted string the Zorumawa roll round a stalk of the flower of *Stylosanthes erecta* (in Hausa—*Tsira Fako**) from which the flower buds have been rubbed in the same way that grains of corn may be rubbed from the stalk of the ear.



FIG. 4.—TUKUNIYA POT.

(C.) *Rumbukawa*: There is also in Sokoto a small potters' colony on the north edge of the town by the river, consisting of one man and sundry women, who are known as *Rumbukawa*. When I wrote on the Adarawa potters I had not been informed of their existence. The name is said to mean "potters," but whether the word is originally Hausa, Fulani or of other derivation I am not clear; I offer, tentatively, the suggestion that it is analogous to the word *Rundawa* which is used for "Butchers" in Sokoto, and is said to signify the slaves of the Fulani who followed that trade.

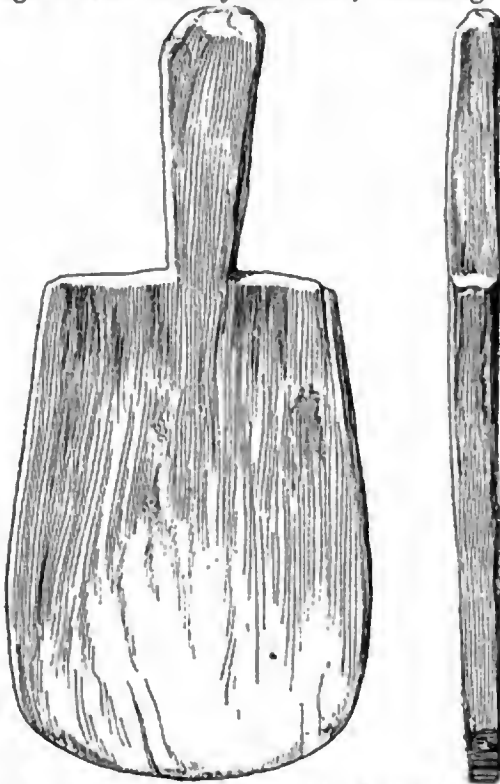


FIG. 5.—WOODEN HAND-BEATER FOR RUMBUKAWA POTTERY.

Amongst the women are Hausawa (who had been originally slaves) and Adarawa and Gobirawa (who were free). They were very vague as to the origin of their technique. All I could get out of them was that they had learnt the trade of their own accord as little girls by going to old Adarawa free-women who then practised it.

The only article manufactured is the cooking-pot (*Tukuniya*). Clay from the valley is levigated with chaff. The potter sits on the ground, places a ball of clay on a piece of mat and kneads it into a "pancake." She beats the pancake out thin, using

* The Kebbawa of Argungu use this also.

a stone as hand-beater, places it on the outside of a finished pot and continues the beating. So far the process is exactly similar to that of the Adarawa in making the same article (MAN, 1929, 34). The pot is then finished off, however, with a wooden hand-beater dipped in water. This implement (Hausa—*Ma-fyade*) is like a square-ended ping-pong racket. Those in actual use had been, I was told, in the possession of the owners ever since they could remember, and it is apparently only with some difficulty that new ones can now be procured. (Fig. 5.)

To make the lip of the pot a long roll of clay is pressed on by hand and the top edge is polished with a piece of mat damped with water, while the pot is revolved. The pots are coloured with the usual red earth wash. W. E. NICHOLSON.

Bride-Price.

Huntingford.

"Bride-Price" in Antiquity: Further Alternatives for this Term. 187

By G. W. B. Huntingford.

I. The Homeric poems portray a people who in many points of social organization resemble the pastoral tribes of East Africa. In material culture they are much in advance of most modern pastoral savages—they have made considerable progress in agriculture, craftsmanship, and art. But in various points of public and private life, including marriage, we find certain parallels.

With regard to marriage, some authorities have definitely stated, apparently on the strength of Aristotle's assertion that the early Greeks *τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλήλων*,* that "the Greeks of the Homeric age virtually bought their wives,"† and that "a wife is purchased by bride-gifts, but she has her rights which her blood-relatives will safeguard."‡ The term used for these "bride-gifts" in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is *ἔδνα*, sing. *ἔδνον*, later *ἔδνα*, sing. *ἔδνον*, a word akin to *ἡδύς*, etc., from $\sqrt{\text{SVAD}}$, meaning "something which pleases, or is sweet"; the verb for "to give a daughter in marriage after *ἔδνα* have been given and received" is *ἔδνῶ* (*ἔδνῶ*), as in Theocritus, xxii, 147: *Λεύκιππος εἰς ἔδνωσε θύγατρας*. The *ἔδνα* were not, however, money; and it is most probable, on the analogy of modern practice, that girls were not bought, though to people writing (like Aristotle) some centuries afterwards, it might seem that they were.

The *ἔδνα* are described as being "prepared": *οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσιν καὶ ἄρτυνέουσιν ἔδνα πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα ἔοικε φίλης ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἔπεσθαι*.§ The verbs *τεύχω* and *ἄρτυνέω* are used in Homer of preparing works of wood and metal, dress, and food; the *ἔδνα*, we may conjecture, were such as are given by the Dorōbo (honey-wine and fur-caps),|| or by the Māsae (honey, tobacco),¶ as well as cattle and other goods.

Whatever the underlying purpose of the *ἔδνα* may be, the Nandi definitely regard girls as a source of wealth, as did the Greeks, since we find the phrase *παρθέναι ἀλφεσίβοιαι*,** "maidens who bring in oxen"; and the words *ὄφρα . . . συνώμεθα . . . ἀμφὶ γάμῳ*, *ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἔδνωται κακοὶ εἶμεν*†† imply that the *ἔδνα* were not fixed, just as they vary from time to time among the East African pastoral tribes. There is a further similarity in the return of the *ἔδνα* if the woman is divorced. Just as among the Greeks "if for a just reason she is put away, the bride-gift "must be duly returned to the husband,"‡‡ so among the Nandi a husband can demand the return of the cattle after he has divorced his wife, provided he can find another husband for her; so, too, among the Turkana, a demand for the return of the cattle is the first step in a divorce.§§

* Pol. ii. 8, § 19.

† Butcher and Lang, transl. of the *Odyssey*, p. 410, note 5.

‡ Browne, "*Handbook of Homeric Study*," p. 212.

§ *Od.* i., 277.

|| J.R.A.I., lix, 353.

¶ Hollis, *Masai*, p. 302.

** Il., xviii, 593.

†† Il., xiii, 381.

‡‡ Browne,

Homeric Study, p. 212.

§§ Beech, *Suk*, p. 32.

II. In Roman marriage, a written contract was sometimes signed before the marriage took place:—

Conventum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra
Tempestate pares.*

This contract was called *Sponsalia*, of which Ulpian says, *Sponsalia dicta a spondendo. Nam moris fuit veteribus stipulari et spondere sui uxores futuras*,† where *stipulari* is to be interpreted with its primary meaning of “conclude a money-transaction,” from *stips*; “*qui pecuniam alligat stipulari et restipulari*.”‡ and, “*quum spondetur pecunia, stipulari dicitur*.”§

III. The word *Sponsalia* implies the existence in early times of a transaction in which money changed hands, but without any question of “purchase.” Similarly the Homeric use of *ἐέδνα* does not necessarily mean that a father sold his daughter; Aristotle’s *ἐωνοῦντο* should not be taken in its literal sense, but rather in the sense of the Latin *stipulari*.

The parallel is sufficiently close to East African customs (to name but one group) to furnish us with two possible substitutes for that objectionable term “bride-price.” They have the advantage of not being English, so that there is no fear of confusion of words with conventional meanings, like “earnest,” “dower,” and “settlement”; and they have an advantage over a local native term, in that they are capable of a more or less universal application and understanding. Further, a Greek or Latin technical term, when applicable, is to my mind more satisfactory than a made-up word such as Dr. Evans-Pritchard suggests|| in his “bride-wealth”; the second word has also a conventional (and etymological) meaning of “riches,” which seems out of place when used in connexion with the more barbarous tribes.

I suggest, therefore, two alternatives: *hedna* (*ἔδνα*, a plural word, since the transaction was concluded by the giving and receiving of more than one thing), or *sponsalia* (also plural); the Latin word would perhaps, for obvious reasons, be the more suitable, though I believe the Greek term more nearly fulfils our requirements.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Britain: Palæolithic.

Reid Moir.

Further Hand-Axes from the Cromer Forest Bed. By J. Reid Moir. 188

The two flint implements which it is the purpose of this note to illustrate and to discuss were found respectively by Mr. John Solomon and Mr. Guy Maynard. Mr. Solomon has very generously presented to me the specimen he discovered, and I have placed it in the Ipswich Museum, where it is on exhibition with numerous others of similar types, including the example found by Mr. Maynard. The latter picked up his specimen (Figs. 2 and 2A) upon the beach at Cromer, while Mr. Solomon made his discovery (Figs. 1 and 1A) upon the foreshore at West Runton, about 4 miles to the north-west. These two important artefacts were thus not found *in situ* in any deposit exposed upon the north-east coast of Norfolk; but, though this is the case, there can be little doubt that both specimens were derived from a highly ferruginous bed, containing many flints, resting upon the chalk at the base of the great cliffs, and extending from Cromer north-westward to Weybourne. It has been possible during recent years to make a close study of this deposit, and the types, condition, flaking, and coloration of the implements found in it are now very well known. There is, in fact, no possibility of confusing these specimens with other and less ancient examples which have fallen from the beds of gravel

* Juvenal, vi, 25.

† Digest, 23, 1, 2.

‡ Varro, L. L., 5, 36, 50.

§ Festus, p. 297.

|| MAN, 1931, 42.

still forming the cliffs of the Cromer coast, and the two flints now to be described can be said to be quite comparable with many others which have been found *in situ* in the ferruginous deposit mentioned. Moreover, the implement discovered by Mr. Solomon contains in its interstices—as do many found upon the foreshore at Cromer, East Runton, and West Runton—a quantity of the ferruginous sand which is so prevalent in the deposit under discussion.* Having thus shown that it is in the highest degree probable that these two hand-axes were derived from this

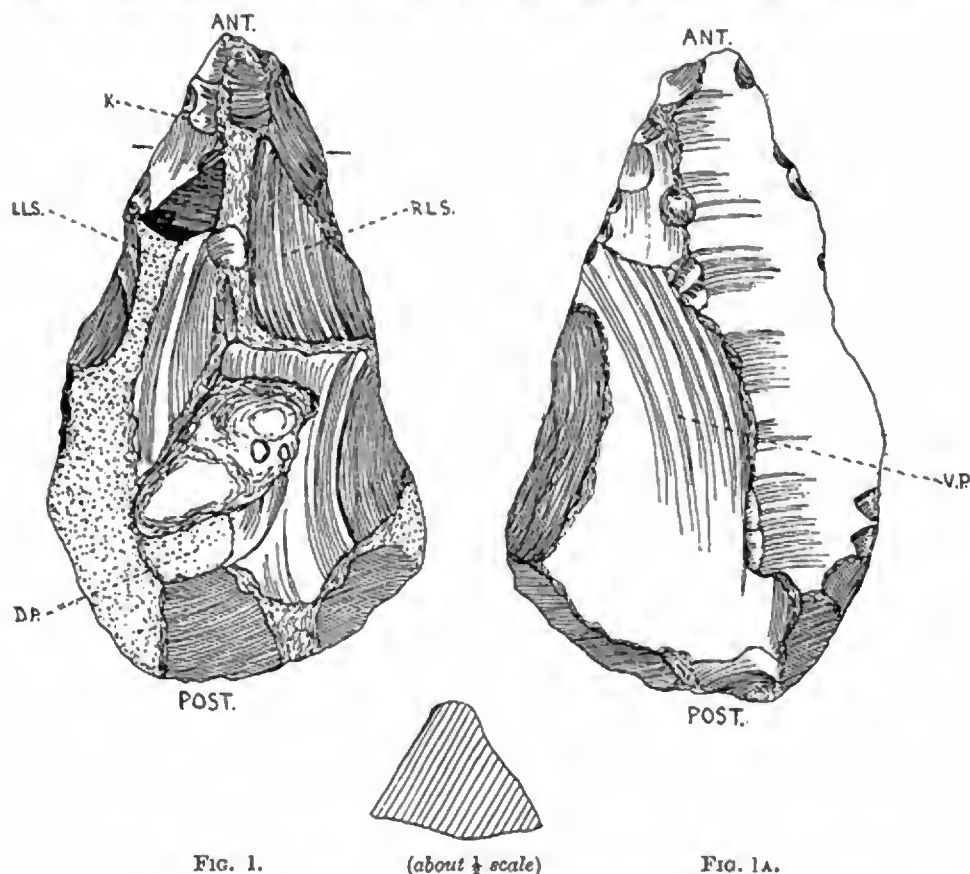


FIG. 1.

(about $\frac{1}{2}$ scale)

FIG. 1A.

FIGS. 1 and 1A.—Found by Mr. John Solomon upon the foreshore at West Runton, Norfolk. Type: rostrid, transitional, Early Chellean hand-axe; material, flint; colour, purplish black; condition, very little abraded, but certain ridges and outstanding parts exhibit a curious breaking down of their surfaces, due possibly to some solvent in the bed in which the flint was embedded; no incipient cones of percussion, but a few weathered-out striae; flaking, except for some small flake-scars, all of one period; greatest length, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.; greatest width, 3 in.; greatest thickness, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.; approximate weight, 1 lb. 3 oz.

"basement" bed, it is possible to proceed to attempt to assign to it its correct geological age. This, however, is not so easy as might be imagined. For some time past I have classed the deposit as representative of the base of the Cromer Forest Bed series, but other investigators look upon it as the equivalent, in the Cromer region, of the sub-crag Norwich Stone Bed farther south. I do not quarrel with this view, especially as I share the opinion of Mr. J. E. Sainty,† that the Stone Bed mentioned,

* Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., Vol. LV, 1925, July to December.

† Proc. P.S., Vol. VI, pt. II, pp. 57-75.

and the basal portion of the Cromer Forest Bed, are, to all intents and purposes, of the same age. The epoch in which these beds were laid down was, I believe, that of the Early Pleistocene, but there are many competent geologists who would relegate the deposits to the immediately preceding period of the Late Pliocene.

The next question which arises is, "What are the types of these two implements found upon the north-east coast of Norfolk?" Fortunately, it is possible to answer this question in a very definite manner. The specimens are, without doubt, what

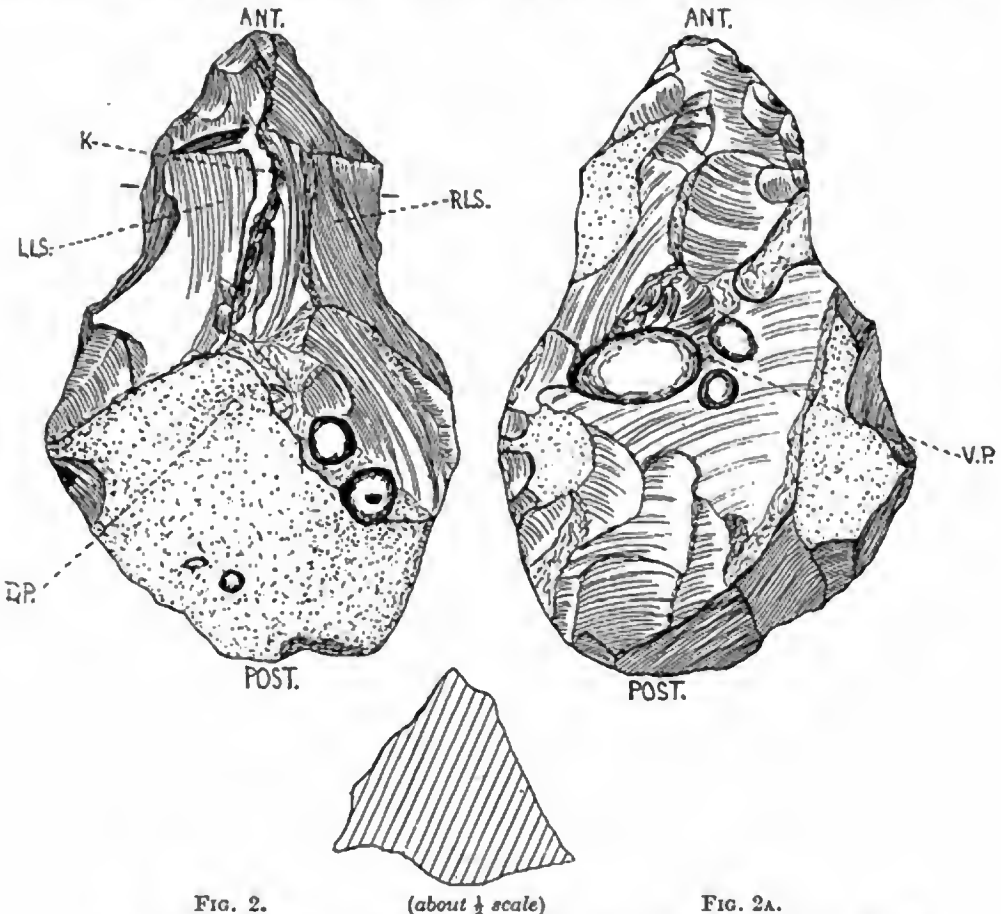


FIG. 2.

(about $\frac{1}{2}$ scale)

FIG. 2A.

FIGS. 2 and 2A.—Found by Mr. Guy Maynard upon the beach at Cromer, Norfolk. Type: rostroid, transitional, Early Chellean hand-axe; material, flint; colour, purplish black; condition, considerably abraded, many incipient cones of percussion and some weathered-out striae; flaking, except for a few small flake-scars, all of one period; greatest length, $5\frac{3}{8}$ in.; greatest width, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in.; greatest thickness, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.; approximate weight, 1 lb. 2 oz.

I have termed rostroid hand-axes,* in which can be observed the transformation of the ancestral rostro-carinate into a hand-axe. As will be noticed (Figs. 1 and 1A, and 2 and 2A), the implements possess massive posterior regions, definitely marked keels, right and left lateral surfaces, triangular sections, and dorsal and ventral platforms—all of which, as is known, are part and parcel of the make up of a rostro-carinate. On the other hand, in these two specimens, the keel, or carina, which,

* *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, Vol. LX, 1930, July to December.

in the rostro-carinate, is the main cutting edge of the implement, has ceased to be prominent and functional, and the cutting-edges are represented by the right and left latero-ventral edges. The implements in question are therefore, as it were, "depressed" rostro-carinates, and fall into the category named by Sir Ray Lankester "batiform."* It will be observed, further, that in both specimens the ventral platform is not composed of one area of fracture, but of several, and this again differentiates the implements from the true rostro-carinates. It has been of much interest to me to examine these specimens, because recently I described other and precisely similar implements found by Sir Flinders Petrie and his colleagues in Southern Palestine.† There can be no doubt that the Norfolk specimens were made upon the same plan and by means of the same very skilful "free" flaking as were adopted by ancient man in Palestine, and, as I have shown, recent research is proving that over vast areas of the earth's surface a highly specialized technique in implement-making was in vogue during the same geological epochs.

I have given a detailed description of the two implements found upon the Cromer coast, and would draw attention to the remarkable resemblance they bear to each other in type, flaking, weight, and dimensions, and to the significant fact that they both compare closely in all these particulars with the Palestinian specimen illustrated in Figs. 1A and 1B of my recent paper. (*J.R.A.I.*, LX (1930).)

It now appears that in Early Pleistocene times in England, Palestine, Africa, and India, man had acquired an expert knowledge in the flaking of flint and other stones, and was producing, among varied types of implements, well-made and symmetrical hand-axes. It is therefore of considerable interest to recognize that in China, where Dr. Davidson Black and his colleagues have made such remarkable discoveries,‡ man at the epoch named may well have been in a much lower state of culture. If it is permissible to judge of the degree of advancement in material things to which any human beings had reached by a study of their skulls and skeletal characteristics, then it seems to me unlikely that *Sinanthropus* ever manufactured hand-axes in stone. It would, I believe, be more reasonable to imagine him making these simple edge-trimmed artefacts called coliths, but, so far, no trace of any implements has been found with the *Sinanthropic* remains. It appears, however, that the people represented by these remains may have utilized quartz in implement-making, and to recognize an colith in this very intractable material would be a by no means easy matter. I feel, however, that it is premature to suggest that *Sinanthropus* was in such a lowly state as not to have used stone implements of any kind. It is to be remembered that, great as are the discoveries made by Dr. Davidson Black and his colleagues, no bones of any kind other than those pertaining to the skull and jaw-bones of *Sinanthropus* have, as I am informed, yet come to light, and it would be still more premature to conclude from this remarkable fact that his evolutionary state was so lowly as to necessitate the possession of nothing but a head! In all seriousness, however, it seems to me probable that further researches in China will reveal both the missing bones of *Sinanthropus*, together with his stone implements, and give some explanation of the hitherto unexplained fact of the discovery of only skulls and portions of jaws in the Chou Kou Tien caves. But, these things apart, it appears, in view of recent researches in various parts of the world, that, as has been pointed out by others, the human race was already differentiated in the Early Pleistocene period, and that man's origin must, in consequence, be looked for at a considerably more remote epoch of time. J. REID MOIR.

* *Phil. Trans.*, B. 1919.

† *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, Vol. LX, 1930, July to December.

‡ *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, and other papers.

Egypt.

Bachatly.

Legends about the Obelisk at Maṭaria. By Charles A. Bachatly.

189

The granite obelisk that now stands in the fields at the modern village of Maṭaria just outside Cairo was erected by Senusert I. of the XIIth dynasty in the ancient city of Heliopolis. Like so many of the other ancient monuments still standing in Egypt it excites the passion of the *fellāḥin* for fantastic stories. Two of these are recorded below, and, as always, they concern the inexhaustible subject of hidden treasure.* The first was related to the author by an aged inhabitant of the village, and is as follows:—This obelisk conceals a treasure hidden underneath it. The treasure is difficult to obtain because it is protected by one of those *ginn* who are set to guard treasure and are called *raṣad*. Beyond this he has no special name. He only appears once a year and then in the mysterious form of a cock.† In this guise he walks about all night wandering silently round the obelisk until the morning begins to dawn, when he disappears to return no more for a whole year. If anyone who happened to be passing during that night should see him, he should try to capture and kill him. If he should have the good fortune to do so, he would without difficulty become the owner of the treasure hidden for thousands of years. If, however, the cock should escape from his would-be murderer, he would disappear then and there without waiting for the dawn, and would be no more seen until his time should come round with the year once more. We may add that strangely enough the manner in which the treasure becomes available is not related, nor does there seem to be any penalty attaching to an unsuccessful attempt on the cock's life.

To this legend may be added yet another about the obelisk and one which is often told by the inhabitants of the district. It is to the effect that each year a remarkable occurrence takes place at the foot of this monument. It only takes place on one night of each year and which that may be is unknown to the people. When everyone is sleeping peacefully, an open air market is suddenly established around the obelisk on a bright moonlight night. It is, however, no congregation of human beings but of *ginns* and they come to give benefits to those who have the good fortune to obtain them. They also teach good manners to anyone who should be rude enough to laugh at them. In fact they are the guardians of the treasure hidden under the obelisk. The goods for sale in this market are lupins (*termis*).‡ Whoever buys is fortunate because when day breaks he will find that these seeds which he has bought for a few farthings have suddenly been changed into gold sufficient for his needs for the rest of his life.§ The *ginn* and their market disappear with the dawn leaving no trace of their erstwhile presence.

It thus appears that the various *ginn* in charge of the treasure of the Maṭaria obelisk are of an unusual nature. They are beneficent beings anxious to assist

* M. Reinaud. *Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*. 1828. II., p. 332, remarks as follows:—"Les Orientaux en général sont persuadés que si les rois de l'antiquité ont élevé ces superbes monuments dont il reste encore des vestiges et qui leur ont acquis une gloire immortelle, c'est qu'ils étaient en possession de secrets particuliers, et qu'ils avaient à leur disposition toutes les richesses de la nature. Ces hommes extraordinaires, à en croire les orientaux, prévoyant les terribles révolutions qui devaient avoir lieu après leur mort, enfouirent leurs secrets et leurs trésors dans les lieux creux de la terre." Again he says:—"Ces trésors sont sous la garde de puissans talismans."

† The cock is the animal whom the Egyptians believe to be most often entrusted with the guardianship of hidden treasure. See for instance, G. Legrain: *Louqsor sous les Pharaons*, 1914, p. 98. Ahmed Bey Kamal: *Le livre des perles enfouies et du mystère précieux*, 1907, II., p. 37, § 78, p. 124. W. S. Blackman: *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, pp. 189, 326.

‡ *Lupinus termis*, Forsk., a sort of seed not unlike a bean that is used for food in Egypt.

§ Compare V. Loret, *Légendes égyptiennes* (B.I.Ég., 2^{me} série, no. 4. 1883), pp. 101, 102.

humanity with the treasure under their care and not, as this type of being usually is, a formidable guardian. Like other fairies, however, those in the latter story are touchy in temper and very susceptible to ridicule.

C. A. BACHATLY.

Egypt.

Wainwright.

The Search for Hidden Treasure in Egypt. By G. A. Wainwright. **190**

Having undertaken to translate into English the foregoing communication by Bachatly Effendi, it has occurred to me that it might be worth while to put down the following notes on some cases of the hunting for buried treasure which have come under my own notice in Egypt.

The idea that buried treasure exists of course has a firm foundation in solid fact, for hoards of coins and jewellery do indeed come to light from time to time in the mounds left by the ancient cities. Then again the tombs contain quantities of objects which had been buried with their owners, though except in the case of the kings themselves the intrinsic value was nothing very great. How vast was the wealth that had been buried with the kings has been recently shown by the discovery of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amun, and the plundering of these burials goes back at least to the XIIth century B.C. At that time the supernatural did not enter into the question; how the valuables got there was a matter of everyday knowledge. On the contrary the search was just a simple matter of business—as it were goldmining—to recover the bullion deposited there. It had grown to the proportions of a vast industry, and was carried on by the necropolis employees, as is shown by the contemporary reports of the trials. Anyone who cares to read a curious page of history will find a number of the papyri containing the records of the official inspection and the day-to-day reports of the cases in the law courts translated and studied in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV., pp. 245 ff., and Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A and B*.

However, between that period and the present a great change had come over the situation, producing a considerable break with that past which had put those valuables in position. Two changes of religion and several conquests had entailed a change in burial customs and a general desertion of the old city sites; the ancient inhabitants, or rather their long succession of rulers, had become the wicked "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," of Christendom or the still more sinister figure known to the Muslim world as "Fira'un." The untutored Arab had broken over the decaying civilized world, finding everywhere vast ruins of temples, statues, incomprehensible inscriptions and deserted cities; mysterious, incredible, unholy places and things, the work of the infidels and the foul Fiend their master in "the days of ignorance" when that chief of unbelievers, Fira'un himself, reigned in the land. It was this outlook, no doubt, that introduced the supernatural element, for the treasure was only to be found in such places as these.

In any case the idea that the pharaonic monuments conceal hidden treasure is widespread throughout Egypt to-day. Probably there is no monument up and down the length of the land, that has been known for any considerable time, but has such ideas attached to it. Numberless sculptured tombs bear the marks of this idea having been put into practice, for they have had large holes mined in their walls in the attempt to get at this supposed treasure. Pharaonic tombs have in them a sculpture representing a doorway, called by archaeologists "the false door," which was intended to accommodate the spirit of the dead man whenever he cared to come forth to visit the earth once more. This is the place most commonly attacked by the treasure-seekers who recognize it as a doorway but mistake its intention, thinking it to be the Sesame which will give access to the treasure chamber which they believe to exist.

During my period as Chief Inspector of the Antiquities of Middle Egypt I was constantly worried with applications for permission to dig for buried treasure and had plenty of opportunity to observe the methods employed. They were those described in the old Arabic treatise, which has been published and translated into French by Ahmed Bey Kamal under the title of " *Le Livre des Perles Enfouies et du Mystère Précieux* " (Cairo 1907). It is a book much studied today even by educated people. On one occasion I was summoned to Sheykh Fadl owing to the activities of one such set of people. They had ploughed up the desert over some acres, largely following natural fissures in the rock. When I arrived on the scene they were working like men possessed because, as they said, they knew that they were at last on the right track. They had dug down and had found an "eye" looking at them, and on extending their excavations had found another "eye" looking towards the first. This showed that they were right on the spot and only had to go down between the two, when the treasure would be theirs. What was actually happening was that they were mining through the native rock of the desert, which was here composed of marl (*ḡafl*). In so doing they had cut through a couple of the white inclusions which are not uncommon in the yellow-brown marl of this district. The cutting through of these inclusions had given them an oval outline, and, as their whiteness caused them to stand out sharply against the yellow-brown matrix in which they were embedded, the hunters thought they were magic eyes looking down on the treasure they had been put there to guard.

On another occasion the finding of some bones nearly a day's march out into the desert had perturbed the whole district. The Antiquity *gaffir* had reported the find to me, the *omdah* (head man) of the nearest village had reported a find of antiquities to the police who were sent to the spot. I went to make enquiries and saw the bones, which were those of some large animal. They were probably those of a camel, for the creature had died in a secluded nook in the great *wady* opposite Asyut by which one can go from the Nile valley right through to the Red Sea. This *wady* is said to be the first which offers such a route north of the famous one at Quft, the Wady Ḥamamat, and it may well be that some Beduin had been going through when one of their camels died.

On yet another occasion I was implored to go a four days' journey out into the desert east of el Fant to carry out excavations round a rock of which a party of Beduin knew and which had magic symbols carved on it. If I was willing to go I was offered half of the proceeds for my pains, but I fear that this offer was not sufficiently tempting. The "magic symbols" would probably have resolved themselves into graffiti of some sort left by a traveller on some rock under the shade of which he had rested at noonday. Such groups of scribblings abound and may be of any date, from figures that may actually be predynastic to Beduin tribal marks and names of modern Europeans. Each and all of such passers-by have availed themselves throughout the ages of the self-evident opportunities offered by these convenient places. On the other hand the "magic symbols" may have been nothing more than natural markings in the rock which are sometimes quite deceptive to an untrained eye.

In closing we may mention the story of the city of burnished copper, or with domes of burnished copper, which is well known. Like the carved rock before mentioned it also is four days' journey out, but in the western desert. Unfortunately, however, it is said to be difficult to find a second time.

It was no doubt a sense of the mysterious that gave rise to the belief in the supernatural in connection with buried treasure here in Egypt. There is nothing supernatural about the finding of a pirate's buried treasure in some West Indian islet, still less about the search for the sunken Spanish treasure galleon off the west coast of Scotland. The reason is that we know how they got there, as the ancient

Egyptian knew how his treasure got into the place where he found it. To the Arab, or long-Christianized Copt whom he conquered, all was different. These things were magical and supernatural, and this feeling was engendered by the vastnesses of the unknown with which he was surrounded; whether the gigantic spaces of the desert which shut him in, or the deserted and gigantic relics inexplicably scattered up and down his land. These latter were vaguely known to be the works of the unbelievers and were therefore evil and terrible.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

REVIEWS.

Australia. Gribble : Litchfield : Keelan.
Forty Years with the Aborigines. 191

By Rev. E. R. Gribble. 6s. *Far-North Memories.* By J. S. Litchfield. 6s.
In the Land of Dohori. By Alice Jeannetta Keelan. 7s. 6d. Sydney : Angus and Robertson. London : Australian Book Co.

These three books, the first two of which deal with various parts of tropical Australia, and the third with Papua, might all have as a sub-title, "The Overcoming of Difficulties." Life is hard for white people in such isolated places as are described in the books under review here. The communication is by sea, and such vessels as are available are often poorly manned, and are generally ill-found, and their sailing times are altogether irregular; skilled assistance for any purpose is almost impossible to get; the housing conditions are poor in the extreme; food supplies are limited in quantity, and are of poor quality, and they are apt to run short; the climate causes difficulties unknown to those who live in temperate zones; the relations between the whites and the natives in the past have not tended to the creation of peace and harmony and progress, at least so far as Australia is concerned. But there are brave hearts among those who live in these far off tropical places, and the difficulties of the life there are made light of, and are overcome. Of our three authors, the first is a missionary, with a wholehearted love for the Australian aboriginal native; the second went to the tropics in search of health, and stayed to help a woman friend; the third was married to a government officer in Papua, and proved a true help-meet for him.

Mr. Gribble's name is known throughout Australia as a pioneer missionary of the Anglican Church amongst the blacks. He attributes his first connexion with the work to a respect for the dying wishes of his father, whose short life was spent as a missionary also to the aboriginal people of Australia. Truly, father and son, as shown in Mr. Gribble's book, have had the experiences which St. Paul speaks of in 2 Corinthians. "Forty Years with the Aborigines" is a record of hard work, undertaken for love, and with no thought

of earthly reward. Shipwreck, fire, famine, isolation, poverty, perils by land and sea, were all endured as a part of the job. The author is of the stuff of which heroes are made, and his book is a noble record of unselfish work. Its style is excellent, and there are many humorous passages which add to the interest of the narrative.

Mrs. Litchfield's book "Far-North Memories" describes life in the camps of those who were drilling for diamonds in the North West Federal Territory of Australia. Descriptions of the abundant bird and animal life of the coastal regions of the North West form a considerable part of the book, and make excellent reading. The authoress has much to say of the numerous natives who were found near the drilling camps, and describes some of their ceremonies. She, too, endured difficulties without complaint, and, to quote her own words, "found life in the Territory worth living."

Mrs. Keelan's book, "In the Land of Dohori," is an account of what a white woman can suffer in many adventures in a tropical land like Papua, and yet retain her sanity and her humour. Her husband was a government officer in charge of out-stations in Papua. He was an ex-soldier, and was liable to recurrences of illness from shell shock. The word "Dohori" in the title is the local equivalent of the Spanish *mañana*, and the authoress had to make constant calls on her pluck and determination, and on her wifely devotion, to enable her to get the better of the exasperating delays and the inconveniences and hardships which resulted from her isolation. The book has many touches showing "close-ups" of native house servants and their ways, and the descriptions of Papuan scenery, and of the effects of light and shade at sunrise, are well done. All three books are well illustrated with photographs. WALTER IVENS.

Africa, West : Folklore. Mischlich.

Neue Märchen aus Afrika Gesam- 192
melt und aus der Haussasprache
übersetzt von Professor A. Mischlich.
Leipzig : Voigtländer. 1929. Pp. 312;
11 x 8½.

Professor Mischlich has collected no less than fifty Hausa tales, which are here beautifully printed, along with free translations into German and (in the case of Nos. 1 to 5) with a literal version interlined. One, moreover (No. 8), appears in facsimile, in the original Ajami script. Some recall stories which have appeared in the collections of Tremearne and Rattray, but are clearly independent versions—e.g. No. 8, "Der Geizhals." No. 19, "Das Waisenmädchen Kande" is a variant of the "Holle" motive, of which Tremearne gives more than one example. No. 24, "Das Wunderpferd," coincides in part with the Swahili *Kibaraka*, some of the episodes in which (no doubt derived from a common source) are found among peoples as widely separated as the Somali and the Fulani. No. 26, "Liebe macht blind," is the story of a girl who rejected all suitors, to fall a victim at last to a werewolf, or a disguised demon. This version presents a novel feature—the girl insists on marrying not one, but *two* demons (*doduna*): they are at the outset described as serpents who had taken human form, but their real nature is quite evident. The girl, Jimai, is saved by her younger sister, who follows her, in spite of her prohibition, changing herself into a fly. So, in the Nyanja version, the little brother, though driven back again and again, follows his sister to the hyenas' village and helps her to escape. In No. 27 a cannibal witch is induced to kill and eat her own children in place of the intended victims — another widely-distributed incident. No. 6, which deals with the friendship between a lion-cub and a human child (whose mother has been killed by the lioness) is, in its opening at any rate, curiously reminiscent of the Lamba "Mr. Lion-child and Mr. Cow-child" (C. M. Deko, *Lamba Folk-lore*,* p. 14). Nos. 45-50 possibly illustrate the principle discussed in Rattray's *Akan-Ashanti Folk-tales* (Introduction, pp. ix-xi); we might also refer to a paper in the current number of J.R.A.I. With the "lampooning liberty" allowed in Ashanti on certain occasions, we might perhaps compare the treatment of the gods in the Aristophanic comedy and (the parallel used to be pointed out by the late R. D. Archer-Hind, of Trinity College, Cambridge) the behaviour of the Roman soldiers to the *imperator* at the triumph. A variant (somewhat bowdlerised) of No. 45 appears in Tremearne's *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*. These six tales are certainly not for the squeamish. A. W.

* American Folk-lore Society, 1927.

Ceylon.

Hocart.

Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G., Archaeology, etc. Edited by A. M. Hocart. Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 73-147. Plates 37-77, 1930. Ceylon, The Archaeological Commissioner. London, Dulau and Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 3.

Some ten years ago Mr. Hocart set himself to unravel the tangled skein of Sinhalese archaeology. By a critical study of architectural details, structural methods and materials, and other evidence, he has been able to correlate the monuments with dated history, to demarcate the phases through which the culture of this interesting island has passed and to determine their typical features. The conclusions so far reached by him he summarizes thus in the current number of the *Ceylon Journal of Science*.

1. No datable remains have been discovered of periods antecedent to about 100 B.C.

2. From about 100 B.C. to the reign of Mahasena, the last King of the "Great Dynasty" (c. 325 A.D.) is a period of "Archaic" art, characterized by the use of brick and limestone.

3. The succeeding period to the fall of Sigiriya (c. 544 A.D.) is one of transition between the old culture of Ceylon and new Indian influences; brick and limestone are still normally used, but gneiss also appears, with an infiltration of Gupta influence.

4. Gneiss dominates the 6th and 7th centuries and Pallava influence is conspicuous.

5. From the 8th to the 10th or 11th century is the "Classical" period of Sinhalese art; the use of gneiss still prevails.

6. In the 11th century came the Chola conquest; and, with the expulsion of the Cholas, an "Archaistic" reversion to earlier models in the newly established capital of Polonnaruwa.

The evidence on which this scheme of periods is based, and their cultural significance, will be found in the "archaeological summaries" of this and previous issues of this *Journal*, and the 168 full-page plates which illustrate them. No branch of research is neglected that can possibly throw light on the evolution of Sinhalese civilization, whether it be the style or craftsmanship of sculptured stone, the size and shape of stupas, lithic copies of pile-borne structures, irrigation dams, caves and "meated sites," town planning and its analogies with Northern India, ancient sherds and modern cooking-pots, their uses and the processes of their manufacture, a dolmen, a carnelian seal, the names of kings at different epochs, and even a local legend or two.

Mr. Hocart was indeed wise to evaluate and publish piecemeal the evidence brought to light in the course of his all too brief tenure of office, instead of reserving it for an exhaustive treatise that may never materialize. It is to be hoped that his retirement will not impair the quality of this valuable journal or lessen his interest in the work of those who build on the foundations he has so well and truly laid.

Subsidiary to Mr. Hocart's summary are three scholarly notes by Mr. H. W. Codrington on (i) a twelfth-century route in Uva Province, (ii) two *dagabas* of Parakrama Bahu I, and (iii) some technical terms in a Polonnaruwa inscription. Mr. S. Paranavitana contributes

an annotated list of 120 inscriptions, with a lucid foreword on their salient points, and an article in which he shows convincingly that Polonnaruwa did not become the Sinhalese capital till after the Chola conquest.

F. J. RICHARDS.

not know what to look for, nor how to interpret what he sees. He thirsts for the queer, the bizarre and the odd. We share his taste somewhat, but have found that the finest spice is detailed knowledge of the ingredients of the feast.

E. J. DINGWALL.

Africa.

Mofolo.

Chaka. By Thomas Mofolo, with an introduction by Sir Henry Newbolt. **194**
London: Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Culture by Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. 198. Price 7s. 6d.

This interesting book is strongly reminiscent of the Sagas not only in its general style of narration and its elimination of all that is immaterial to the main thread of the narrative, but also in its mixture of pagan and Christian ideas and its matter-of-fact way of recounting supernatural events. While this may be due in part to conscious or unconscious imitation, it is interesting to note that both this book and the Sagas were written by the Christianized descendants of illiterate pagan warriors at a time when the memory of their exploits, or at any rate of similar exploits, was still fresh.

While the historian will seek his materials elsewhere, the anthropologist will find much to interest him, both in the description of rites and miraculous events, and in the general attitude adopted towards the witch-doctors and their "medicine."

Sir Henry Newbolt, in an introduction in which he does justice to the interest and literary merit of the book, finds in the description of Chaka's mysterious attendants a deliberate symbolization of Chaka's own qualities, but it seems to me that such an elaborate literary device is out of keeping with the author's naive and straightforward style.

RAGLAN.

Africa, West.

Seabrook.

Jungle Ways. By William B. Seabrook. **195**
London: G. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. (1931). Pp. 280. With illustrations and a map.

From Mr. Seabrook's earlier works readers might have hoped that he would have realized the necessity of a serious study of social conditions, magic and folklore. This book, however, proves that Mr. Seabrook is either unwilling or incapable of anthropological research. He goes through the world avid for sensation and knows how thrilled will be the Middle West on hearing that a real He-Go-Getter has fed on human flesh and travelled with an African sorceress. He sees little girls being transfixed on points and yet still living; he sees, agog with astonishment, rites and magical ceremonies of which he cannot glimpse the meaning; he condemns the "learned" "ethnographic nonsense" which has been written upon excision and describes the results of his personal inspection in language which shows that he has no idea what he is saying.

It is not that he cannot describe what he sees. He can do that very well, but he does

Asia, East.

Stockholm Museum.

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. **196**
Stockholm. Bulletin No. 2. Stockholm, 1930.

This second Bulletin is larger than its predecessor, and in some ways more interesting to the anthropologist. It contains four important papers, one on folk-lore and three on Archaeology. Bernard Karlgren contributes a long paper on "Some Fecundity Symbols in 'ancient China,' with six plates illustrating some of these symbols with others closely resembling them from the prehistoric rock carvings in the Baltic. There are two papers by Olev Janse on ancient Chinese swords and on some Chinese antiquities with Hallstatt characteristics; these are accompanied by four and eight plates respectively. Lastly there are some notes on the Archaeology of China, with eight plates, by O. Karlböck.

H. J. E. PEAKE.

Africa: Prehistoric.

Lebzelter.

Die Vorgeschichte von Süd- und Südwestafrika. By Viktor Lebzelter. **197**
Pp. xii + 220; 48 plates, 55 text figures. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1930.

There is undoubtedly a boom in South African prehistoric literature just now. Not only are a number of important papers appearing in various journals from the pens of such investigators as Goodwin, Hewitt, van Riet Lowe and others, but several larger volumes on different branches of the subject have recently been published. As is to be expected in the case of such a vast and varied area as South Africa where prehistory, properly so-called, concludes as recently as the sixteenth century of our era, every one of these publications has some important new material to bring forward. The present work is no exception. It is the first of a series of three volumes, the latter two of which will be more especially concerned with racial and linguistic problems. The subject matter was collected and investigated during extensive journeys in the country, and the author here describes his finds of stone implements in some detail, correlations of the various new industries postulated being attempted towards the end of the book.

It may perhaps be urged that the title of the work is too ambitious. "The prehistoric 'stone industries of South East Africa (from 'Swaziland to the Grahamstown district) and 'of the former German South West Africa'" would more accurately have indicated the ground covered, for it was in these regions that the author travelled and with the industries occurring in them that three-quarters of the text and all the plates are concerned. Considerations of the more classic South African prehistoric cultures occupy less than

29 pages and no general account of the rock-shelter art is attempted. On the other hand, the districts which the author has made his own have till now been largely *terra incognita* from the prehistoric point of view. Especially is this true of the former German South-West Africa, through which Dr. Lebzelter, accompanied by his wife, travelled extensively, and from which he cites a new stone industry, the "Erongo" culture, which he describes as an old broad-blade industry with a strong coup-de-poing influence. Can we in this description, as elsewhere in the book, trace the influence of Professor Menghin's ideas on the classification of prehistoric cultures? From the plates it is not easy to form an opinion of these industries nor of the "Isi-kwonenian," "Inxobongoan" and "Ingele-duan" which the author cites from the south-east of the Continent. No doubt expenses of production are to blame for this. To be regretted too—though also no doubt unavoidable—is the fact that the author has not found it possible to connect his finds in South-West Africa with the localities whence came the rock-paintings whose publication we welcomed a short time ago at the able hands of Dr. Obermaier and Dr. Kühn. Their book treated of the art, but did not consider the stone industries of the rock-shelters, and now in Dr. Lebzelter we have an author concerned with the same district who treats of the stone industries, but does not consider the art. If only a connection could have been made between the two, how much richer we should have been!

But I must revert to emphasize my original claim that Dr. Lebzelter's book is to be welcomed for the new material it brings forward for the elucidation of the story of South Africa's Past. M. C. BURKITT.

Morocco.

Westermarck.

Wit and Wisdom in Morocco. By Ed. 198
ward Westermarck, Ph.D., Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow). London: Geo. Routledge & Sons. 1930. Pp. 448. 25s.

The main part of this book consists of some two thousand Arabic proverbs in a phonetic script, with an English translation and a commentary indicating the situations in which they are used. In accordance with the commentary they are divided into chapters headed, "Hospitality," "Robbery," etc. It is, perhaps, inevitable that a large proportion of them should seem to have little or no point.

There is an introductory essay calling attention to various features of the proverbs, and the Arabic originals are relegated to an appendix. This is a pity, as owing to the elaborate nature of the phonetic system—there are over thirty vowel symbols—and the vagaries of the local pronunciation, it is difficult to be sure what the transliteration stands for, and one is under the unpleasant necessity of reading the book in two places at once.

The translation is on the whole very well done. There are a few slips. "Barghūt" (1600) means "fleas," and not "flies." "Akhai el habib" (329) means "my dear brother," and not "my brotherly friend."

No. 361 is rendered: "He who mixes with the grocer smells of his perfume." "Grocer" should be "perfumer," "attār."

No. 34: "Handsome is as handsome does," is not very happily rendered, "There is no beauty but the beauty of action."

A large proportion of the proverbs are conventional expressions of Moslem piety and, might, with or without slight verbal changes, come from any part of the Arabic-speaking world. Some suggest the Arabian desert, and it is probable that many of them date from the time when students from all over Europe flocked to the Arab universities of Spain.

The dialect has certain peculiarities, but the percentage of non-Arabic words is trifling, smaller than in any dialect I have heard. Its affinities seem to be with the dialects of Syria, though there are a few words which suggest Central Arabia and the Sudan, and a few words have the Egyptian hard g.

The use of classical as well as dialect words, e.g., for horse, dog and wheat, makes one wonder whether the collection really represents the ordinary speech of the people.

There is, nevertheless, much of interest. It appears, for example, that besides dividing the year into lunar and solar months, as do all agricultural Moslems, they have a third division into twenty-eight periods of thirteen days, each with its name and its appropriate proverbs. The mid-December period is called "bulda," and a proverb (1950) says: "With 'east wind in the bulda the monkey becomes 'pregnant.' Does this imply a belief that animals are impregnated by the wind?"

I shall quote No. 10 because I believe it to be the first suggestion of the couvade to be recorded in a Moslem country. "Azzuna (name for a Jewess of high rank, such as the wife of a rabbin) gives birth to a child, and the rabbin (her husband) feels pain in his bottom."

The book is perhaps rather longer than it need be, but it is a monument of industry, and a permanent contribution to knowledge.

RAGLAN.

Zulu Language.

Doke.

Text Book of Zulu Grammar. By 199
C. M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press.

Dr. Doke is well known for his masterly thesis "The Phonetics of the Zulu Language" (1924). This Zulu text book followed about two years later, and should have been noticed before. Teaching experience had revealed "the necessity of a scientific text book for 'University and School studies in Zulu in 'South Africa.' Its features are twofold. First a summary of his phonetic studies. Succinctly given and carefully condensed into thirty-three pages, they run like a thread securely through the whole book. Secondly, a very thorough re-setting of all existing grammars—the author acknowledges the help of no less than ten—so as to produce an "up-to-date work on scientific lines." There will, however, be no clashing with an even more recent book, Wanger's "Scientific Zulu Grammar," published last year. This book also claims to be "scientific"; but its appeal is to the philologist. Dr. Doke writes for the student primarily in South Africa.

As a lecturer, Dr. Doke doubtless amplified what has here been so admirably condensed into the minimum of space and he hopes to add later graded exercises. Especially noteworthy are some pages at the end which deal with Formatives; the Syntax of the Qualificative, of the Predicative, and of the Descriptive; whilst a classified list of the principal onomatopoeic words, in which Zulu is extraordinarily rich, should prove of much value to the philologist. Amidst all that is so full, we have however failed to notice two idioms, viz., "a knife to cut with," frequently in Bantu a causative "a knife which causes" (things) to be cut"; Doke's "The pen with which I write" scarcely meets the case. Secondly, the idiom "Is it not white," etc., for "How beautifully white it is." Roberts in his Grammar declares the idiom means literally "It is not white"—and this even in his third edition—a statement which can easily be disproved by the use of precisely the same idiom in Uganda and neighbourhood. Here the forms "It is not" . . . and "Is it not" . . . are identical except for the intonation. An unexplainable sound change, extremely rare, if not actually peculiar to Zulu itself, is, p to sh. Closely akin is the peculiar change b to ch, found also in Kamba, *aco* (they) for *abo*, and a few times in Cwana. Finally the uncommon (explosive) Zulu b becomes j; there seem to be only two or three examples.

Like all modern writers Dr. Doke specialises his subject by the use of new words. "Situative" replaces the "participle" construction of other Grammars; Concordial (Formative) corresponds to Waenger's Concordial (Determinative). Suffixal (Formative) seems a little strained. Instead of the simple Genitive expressed by -a, we are treated to a Possessive Concord, wa, ba, la, etc., the Possessive Particle of Eyles. Hence the literal rendering of "My horses" is given by Doke as "Horses they-my." Is not "horses of me" equally correct and much simpler? Moreover it corresponds with all other uses such as The sun and the light of it—its light; The grass of at the river—the river grass, etc.

One such new word calls for a somewhat longer comment, viz., prepalatal. The author seems scarcely to realise that his use covers two distinct things which he thus states (§34): "the bilabial gives place to a corresponding prepalatal sound" a phonetic phrase and a few lines further on "prepalatalisation" is not entirely confined to bilabials," illustrating this by a process common to all Bantu, and one of Meinhof's most valuable points. I think Meinhof called it "palatalisa-

"tion"; by it, a, t or k becomes sh, ch or s, especially if an "i" follow. Meinhof drew his examples from the Nomen Agentis which throughout Bantu is denoted by -i. Now, as Dr. Doke points out, this change does not occur in Zulu with the Nomen Agentis; but it does occur with diminutive suffix -ana, the locative -ini and the passive -wa (originally -iwa) three features in which Zulu quite differs from a large section of other Bantu speech. As an instance, Zulu has *umaki*, a builder, not *umasi* as we should expect; Sw. *mwashi* base *yaka*, build. To confuse this with a phonetic term "prepalatal" seems a pity—prepalatal being in Doke's Zulu phonetics applied to the sound of Zulu "sh" because the back of the tongue is not "brought forward to cause friction with the hard palate."

Dr. Doke draws some fine distinctions between prepalatal sh and the affricate tsh, thus settling such points as *tyaya* or *tshaya* or *shaya*, to beat, in favour of the last. He draws an important distinction between slightly explosive "b" and the more common implosive (his term) "b"; and points out the close affinity between g and k. Into these and other interesting points we do not enter.

Dr. Doke has aimed at a scientific Grammar. Scientific or otherwise, he has certainly produced a veritable storehouse of closely packed and carefully worded information which cannot be anything but a treasure field to the thoughtful student.

A. A. CRABTREE.

Germany.

Ethnological Society.

Tagungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde. Herausgegeben vom Vorstand. Bericht über die 1. Tagung, 1929 in Leipzig. Leipzig: Schindler (Asia Major), 1930. Pp. 110. 9½ × 6½, 6 plates, map.

The inaugural meeting of this new Ethnological Society took place on October 1 & 2, 1929. This work contains a report of the discussion on the "Aims and Nature of "Ethnology," and papers read by Egon. Freiherr von Eickstedt (on the German Research Expedition to India, 1926-29), Herr Franz Termer (on archaeological studies in Guatemala, 1925-29) and Herr Paul Germann (the Leipzig Expedition to Liberia, 1928-29). These three papers are illustrated by photographs. Many pages would be required for a due appreciation of the various points of interest: specialists in the subject cannot afford to overlook this publication.

A. W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Bride-Price.

Young.

"Bride-Price": Another Alternative.

SIR,—In MAN, 1931, 42, Dr. Evans. Pritchard refers to me as "favouring the expression 'marriage settlement,'" and I remember writing to you a short note (MAN, 1930, 60) on the "marriage methods" of Northern Nyasaland, in which I did express, in

a general way, such an opinion.

His suggestion "bride-wealth," is very good and is, of all recent suggestions, the first that begins to look like containing something equivalent to the African idea. But that it too, like my much-derided "marriage-settlement" is open to misunderstanding, is witnessed by the letter in MAN, 1931, 84, from Lord Raglan himself, who says, "If I were asked to translate into English, 'He received

"'bride-wealth,' I should suggest, 'He married 'an heiress.'" In the following paragraph he expands this point where, in dealing with the case in which girl is exchanged for girl, he says, "To say that one girl was the wealth of 'another is absurd."

But surely, so far from it being absurd, this is the bare statement of the actual African fact. One girl is the wealth of (i.e., for) another. It is good to see that Dr. and Mrs. Seligman give an unqualified acceptance of the suggested new term, realizing, as they obviously do, just exactly how far—for all who really have lived among Africans—the phrase "bride-wealth" meets African fact.

No satisfactory phrase is possible unless the fundamental idea underlying the whole business—from "girl for girl" up through all the variants ("bunch of beads," "one chicken," "a hoe," "two goats and a 'hundle of cotton') to the full "lobolo," is realized. As I see it, the fundamental idea is this:—

Just as, within the African community or group, there is one dominant "note," which is INCREASE, so between any one group and any or all others there is also one dominant "note," and this is expressed in the word **EQUILIBRIUM**.

The "girl for girl" system is the early, simple, ideal method, but life grows complex with the years and the method alters, here in this way and there in that. But the governing need or demand for equilibrium remains, with this result, that the "equilibrium guarantee" which changes hands between any two groups never represents an isolated or completed act. It belongs to a long series of "equilibrium transferences" which began in the distant past and will continue into the years that lie beyond our sight.

To put it concretely: somewhere in Nyasaland to-day a bunch of cattle has left the village of Group A and somewhere in the village of Group B a maiden has been told that the time has come for her to travel to the village from which those cattle have set out. But these cattle have been on their travels for uncounted years; halting here for some years or months and there for some years or months and then setting out again. And whenever they started off on a new stage of their wanderings there was a maiden or bride found travelling along the same path but in the opposite direction.

Naturally, they could not always be the same identical beasts, those cattle; but they only differed externally. So, in the days ahead, the cattle that will set out from village B will, or may, be different animals, going now to kraal C. But "for the purposes of the 'Act'" they are the same cattle. They are the "bride-wealth," changing hands; and this function of theirs is unending. They are maintaining an equilibrium between the clans and whichever clan holds them for the moment, holds in prospect a maiden of some other clan—a maiden perhaps as yet unknown or unborn—who will sooner or later be required as wife for a lad of the clan where these cattle are, temporarily, held.

They are not marketable or killable at will. They, or their successors if they die, are an

"equilibrium guarantee" transferable only for value received and their "value" is always and only a bride.

It is this idea of "equilibrium guarantee" that I hold to be at the back of every marriage method from "girl for girl" upwards, or onwards. Therefore, if it were not for its multisyllabic ponderosity, I think that my phrase more explicitly states the case than "bride-wealth." But the latter, given a moment or two of thought, for the mind to call up the actual African picture—the never-ending travels of those cattle (or hoes, or chickens, or goats) and the long procession of the brides who rise up to meet them—aims at expressing the same idea, and in monosyllables. Its weakness is that not all who will be called upon to use it will be able to call up to the mind that picture, and may, like Lord Raglan, miss the essential point; wealth or property that connotes brides, past, present, and to come.

I should like, therefore, to put forward for consideration the clumsier but, as I think, more accurate phrase, "equilibrium guarantee."

T. CULLEN YOUNG.

14, Zetland Place, Trinity, Edinburgh.

India.

Richards.

Bowls from Ur and the Nilgiris.

SIR,—Bruce Foote, in Plates X-XII of his "Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Madras Museum," figures, among the objects excavated by Brecks on the Nilgiris, a bronze bowl of a rather unusual elliptical form (cf. Brecks, "Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris," Plates XLI, XLII).

A bowl of similar shape, but of gold, and dated c. 3500 B.C., is figured by Dr. Woolley, among his finds at Ur, in the *Illustrated London News*, 17th December, 1927, p. 1092.

The following features suggest that the similarity of form is due to something more than chance:—

- (1) The sides of both bowls are fluted.
- (2) Each bowl has a horizontal band of ornament just below the rim. The flutings of the Nilgiri bowl are, however, interrupted by a second such band half-way down the body; the Ur specimen has no such band.
- (3) The Ur bowl has a sort of handle close to the rim in the middle of each of its longer sides. The Nilgiri bowl has no such excrescences, but in the place where they should be, a kind of half-open lotus-bud design is incised.
- (4) Each bowl has a foot or pedestal; in the Nilgiri example this is nearly as high as the body of the bowl itself; but in the Ur bowl the foot is very short and broad.
- (5) The lotus-like pattern incised on the base of the Ur bowl is strikingly like that on the Nilgiri specimen.
- (6) The type of decoration by shallow linear incision in both bowls is apparently the same.

This assemblage of characters in common suggests some phylogenetic connection between the two vessels. In date the bowls may be separated by centuries or even by a millennium or two, but it is hardly conceivable that the resemblance in so many specialized particulars is fortuitous.

The problem of the Nilgiri cairn culture has now been reopened by the researches of Mr. T. B. Nayar in the pottery of South India, as summarized in his paper read at the R.A.I. on 2nd June, 1931 (MAN, 1931, 139). Mr. Nayar has promised to deal fully with the range in time and space of this particular type of bowl, when the results of his investigations are published. It is to be hoped that the publication will not be long delayed.

F. J. RICHARDS.

Etiquette.

Hogbin.

Etiquette and Public Opinion.

SIR,—Mr. Hocart, in MAN, 1931, 128, says that my definition of etiquette is not final because it is not the only form of behaviour which "has no further sanction than public opinion." He then gives an example: to go about the street dressed as Robin Hood would not be a breach of etiquette, though it would call forth disapproval or ridicule, but to go to a funeral in the same costume would be a breach.

In my definition (MAN, 1931, 88) I stated that the rules of etiquette related to the behaviour of members of a society towards one another. The person who goes down the street dressed as Robin Hood is therefore, according to definition, not guilty of a breach of etiquette because his conduct has nothing to do with his fellow citizens. Of course, if he is considered to be indecent, or if he causes an obstruction to traffic, he will be punished by the law. Otherwise, his behaviour is entirely his own affair. However, if he were to attend a funeral he would be guilty of a breach of etiquette because his conduct would be an insult to the mourners and imply disrespect for the dead man. In the same way, it is not bad manners to eat peas with a knife if one is dining alone, while it is bad manners to do so if one is in company. In the first case one's conduct has nothing to do with other people, while in the second case it has.

H. IAN HOGBIN.

Africa, East.

Huntingford.

The Ba Hanga : a correction.

SIR,—The reviewer of Father Stam's "The Bahanga" (MAN, 1931, 54), has made one or two mis-statements.

1. The Ba Hanga (or Awa Hanga, as they call themselves) are not neighbours of "the Bageshu and the Nandi," but of the Kitosh (Awa Vukusu), Kabaras (Awa Nyala), and of the Luo. (See map in Hobley "Eastern Uganda," Pl. I.) They are hardly "closely related to the Bantu Kavirondo," as they are one of the Bantu Kavirondo tribes.

2. The Ba Hanga alone of all the Bantu Kavirondo have been previously described in any sort of detail. Hobley in "Eastern Uganda" gives some information, particularly regarding their kings (p. 43); while the Hon. K. R. Dundas in J.R.A.I., Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 19 *et seq.*, gives considerably more material concerning this, their religion, and other matters.

3. The most remarkable fact about the tribe is that it has an hereditary king. Your

review does not mention this. The king holds certain insignia, which are the sign of his office, and which include a copper bracelet.

4. The real religion of this tribe is, like the other Bantu Kavirondo tribes, ancestor-worship. Dundas and Hobley both mention this. Eriwa, the "one god" is of little importance. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD. Kipkaren, Kenya.

Couvade.

Durham.

More Survivals in Britain.

SIR,—A window cleaner whom I employ sometimes is unwell. He ascribes his indisposition to the fact that his wife is pregnant and expecting delivery very shortly. He states he is always ill during the last week or two of her pregnancies. An Irish cook to whom he imparted the information had never heard of the idea before and she received it with scorn. Is the belief not prevalent in Ireland?

I am told that it is very prevalent among the sea-faring men of Plymouth and neighbourhood. If the old saying of "a wife in 'every port'" be true, the results must be sometimes disastrous! M. E. DURHAM.

Photograph.

Myres.

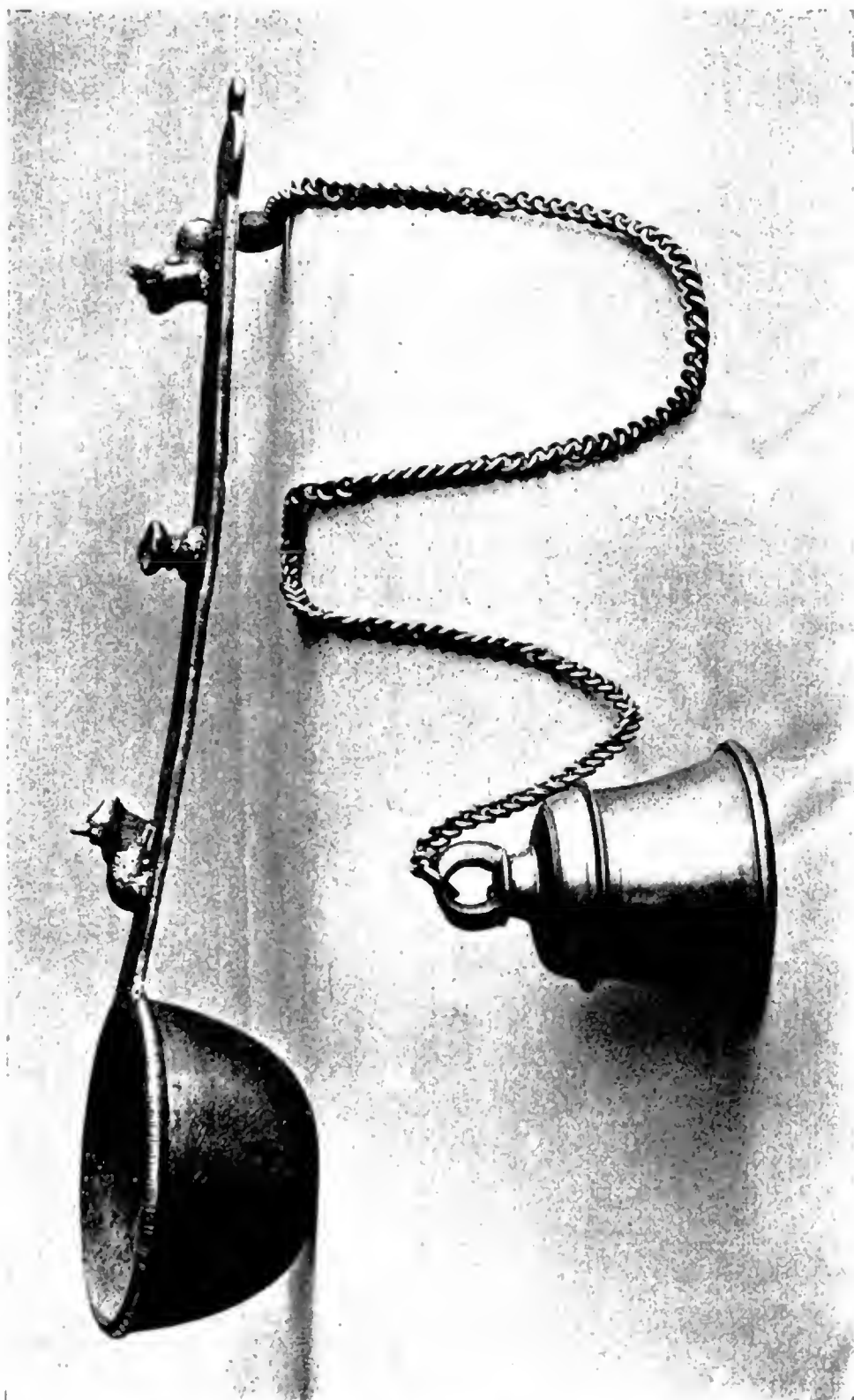
An Unidentified Photograph.

By some accident, the block, from which the annexed figure is printed, has become



separated from its description. Readers of MAN are invited to assist in identifying it.

J. L. MYRES.



MALA SALAVADI'S BADGE OF OFFICE, IN THE INDIA MUSEUM.

Length 22 ins.: Registration number, I.M. 157—1926.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 207-240.

OCTOBER, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

British Association.

Myres.

Anthropology in the British Association for the Advancement of Science: London, September 23-30, 1931. By Professor John **207**
L. Myres, Ex-President of the Institute and a General Secretary of the British Association.

On 26th September, 1931, a "British Association for the Advancement of Science" was founded at York under the auspices of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. On 23rd-30th September, 1931, it celebrates its centenary, meeting for the first time in London. The Royal Anthropological Institute presents its congratulations and good wishes on this occasion; it recalls with grateful appreciation the friendly welcome which anthropological studies of all kinds have always received, and warmly desires the continuance of the same close co-operation.

At the first meeting of the British Association neither anthropology nor ethnology appeared by name, but Dr. J. C. Pritchard was a member of the Committee for Zoology and Botany, and the observations of travellers were considered by the Committee for Geology and Geography. Anatomy and Physiology were separated from Natural History in 1834; and Geography from Geology in 1851. In 1866, Section D (Biology) established a sub-section for Anthropology, and an independent Section H for Anthropology was created in 1884 for the first overseas meeting at Montreal, with Dr. E. B. Tylor in the chair. Section H from the first has maintained the closest relations with the Anthropological Institute, and is remarkable also for the long tenures of its recordership. Since the first appearance of MAN the proceedings of Section H have always been reported at some length in its pages, and a large number of the papers communicated to Section H have been subsequently published in the JOURNAL.

The report of the proceedings of Section H at the Centenary Meeting will be printed in MAN for November.

JOHN L. MYRES.

India.

With Plate K.

Codrington.

Castes or Nation? A Mala Salavadi's Badge of Office. By **208**
K. de B. Codrington.

The object illustrated is a Mala Salavadi's badge of office, now in the India Museum, South Kensington. It is made of brass, cast by the *cire perdue* process in the form of a large ladle, the handle of which is roughly fiddle-shaped at the end and is ornamented with two bulls couchant (*Nandi*), facing a receptacle (*Yoni*) for a *Linga*. The latter, which was probably of crystal or pebble, is missing. The whole thing has been finished with the file and roughly polished, the bowl being decorated with rough incisions in parts. At the end of the arm, underneath, there is a pierced protuberance from which hangs a brass chain of cut and bent links, with a large bell at the end, also a *cire perdue* brass casting. The work is probably of the middle of the 19th century.

The literature concerning the Malas is summarized from the various District Gazeteers by Thurston in his "Castes and Tribes" (under Mala, also see Balija, Linga-Balija, Kapu, Chetti, Dasari and Desayi). The problem, however, is by no means a simple one; it is, indeed, typical of the difficulties of Indian anthropology in its present condition. To begin with, it is obvious that the nomenclature of this people, and of the various other so-called castes, with whom they have to do socially, is very confused. Nicholson, in J.R.A.I., Vol. LVI, 1926, p. 91, has reviewed the whole subject and added much valuable information. It becomes more and more obvious that we are here dealing not with "castes" in any ethnic sense, but with a widespread, decayed social organization. Such decadent federations are not rare in India; the Kurumba and Bedar groups may be quoted as typical examples. In the present state of Indian anthropological studies, they are allowed to pass unnoticed under cover of an artificial system of caste nomenclature, which has been created for census and administrative purposes. The Malas are recorded in this light, as a Telugu-speaking, agricultural people, occupying the rice and cotton-growing tracts of Nellore, Kistna, Godavari and Guntur Districts, and of Hyderabad State. They are closely associated by tradition, and also socially, with the Linga-Balijas (Banijas) and the Kapus (Reddis), who, it is interesting to note, all claim ancient and distinguished descent from various dynasties. In the Madras Census Report for 1891 the tradition is quoted that these three peoples migrated south of the Pennar River, under pressure of Muhammadan conquest, after the fall of Warangal in the 14th century.* Burnell and Fleet connect the name Reddi with Rashtrakuta.† In the North Arcot Manual it is said that the Linga Balijas, who have a subdivision Reddi, are a religious organisation, rather than a caste proper. They are Canarese-speaking immigrants from Mysore, and their head-men (Chettis) were appointed with magisterial powers over definite districts by the Nawabs of Arcot. This authority has evidently not altogether been superseded, for the Manual records breaches of the peace due to "interference" by the Chettis. The Balijas are described in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as a widely-spread, Telugu-speaking, trading caste. Their most important sub-division is said to claim descent from provincial governors of the dynasties of Madura, Tanjore and Vijayanagar; but Thurston, on the other hand, records that their claim to *Kshatriya* rank of the *Kasyapa Gotra* is answered by other castes with the retort that they are really Kapus. Certain of them, however, go so far as to honour themselves with the title *Kartakal* (governors) in their census returns. They also use the title of Chetti, as well as Naidu (Lord). Kapu, on the other hand, is a purely occupational caste-name, being common Telugu usage for farmer or *Ryot*. Another title which requires comment is Dasari. These are ordained Vaishnava priests, drawn from all these peoples, who, however, are as a whole, Saiva. It is noteworthy that most of these people still preserve a complicated system of exogamous septs (*Intiperu*), the bulk of their titles being undoubtedly of long standing.

The Desayis, or leaders of the Right-hand Faction of the castes, or of the so-called Nine Castes, are always Linga-Balijas. No satisfactory explanation seems to be available for the existence and purpose of either the Right- and Left-hand Factions, or of the continually mentioned Nine Castes, the constituent parties of both conglomerations varying considerably. For instance, the Malas are divided between both factions. This seems to be a mere sectarian split. The Right-hand Faction and their Desayis remaining Saiva, the others going over to the Left-hand, probably as Ramanuja converts to Vaishnavism. Nicholson (*loc. cit.*, p. 92) says that all Malas wear the cloth over the right shoulder at marriages, which would seem to support this. On the other hand, according to Thurston, the women of the Reddi

* V. Smith, *Ox. Hist.*, p. 236.

† Fleet, "Mysore and Coorg," p. 66.

Bhumalu Malas of the Ceded Districts wear the little bodice, *ravika*, as brides. If this is true, it is an interesting survival, which supports the theory of their northern origin, for the bodice has never been worn in the south proper.

The Malas are socially organized in their villages on a basis of computed shares (*Meti*), the village-elders being hereditary except in extraordinary circumstances. They deal with ordinary village business and complaints, and have their own Salavadi or caste-messenger, presumably in each village. If, however, the complaint is a serious one, they have no objection to submitting it to a joint *Panchayat* of neighbouring castes. If the matter is felt to be beyond their powers, or an appeal is lodged, the case is sent up to the Desayi Chetti, who has powers of caste-excommunication over the Nine Castes in his own area. Nicholson says that a further system of appeal once existed to various *Gurus*, all these offices being hereditary. Thurston says (under Balija) that formerly there were Chettis at Conjeeveram, Cuddalore and Walajapet.

Each Desayi Chetti has his own messenger (Salavadi, Chalavathi), *who is always a Mala* and is dignified with the care of his superior's badge of office (*Biruthu*), the large brass ladle here illustrated. He officially attends all Balija marriages and funerals, bearing his badge of office over his shoulder, so that the bell hangs down behind and strikes his foot at each step. His funereal duties have consequently caused the sound of his bell to be regarded as an ill-omen. However, the badge of office clearly represents the dignity of the Chetti, and not merely the function of his messenger. The ladle-form is probably to be attributed to the fact that by virtue of the badge he bore, whatever its original form, the messenger was allowed to take toll of the produce of the weekly markets. In any case the ladle lies in front of the Desayi Chetti when he sits in judgment, thus declaring its true symbolism.

Under Desayi, Thurston prints an abstract of an article from the Madras Mail (1901), which describes in general terms the procedure of the Chetti's court. Here it is said that the scale of dues is a fixed one, and that, as a source of revenue, they can be farmed out or even alienated by sale. Opposite p. 121, Vol. II, Thurston illustrates one of these Salavadi's badges of a different type. It is, also, of cast brass, but is shorter, with a broad handle, the bowl being decorated in low relief with a plough, shears, loom, hammer, etc., which are said by the writer in the Madras Mail to symbolize the occupation of the castes, which he mentions as being eighteen. The district referred to seems to be North Arcot.

It would be interesting to learn more of this interesting survival of a long dead civil organization and to define the area in which it persists. The Malas of Hyderabad do not seem to have been studied at all.

K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

Europe: Bronze Age.

Evans.

The Late Bronze Age in Western Europe. By E. Estyn Evans, 209
B.A. Queen's University, Belfast. With map.

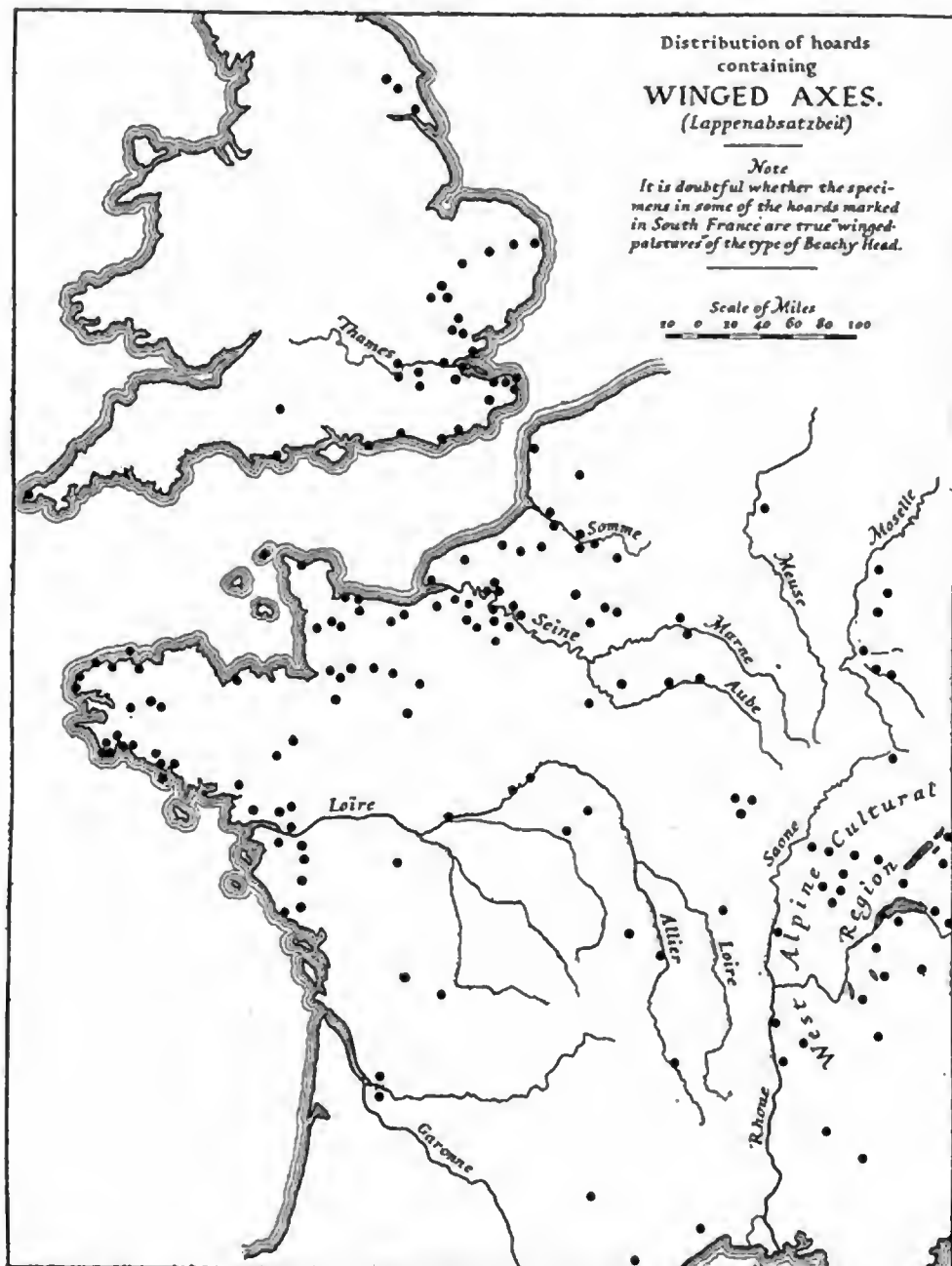
The accustomed typological subdivision of the age of bronze in western Europe, while perhaps necessary to the museum expert, has tended to obscure a fundamental twofold division which was recognized many years ago by Sir John Evans¹ in this country and by de Mortillet² in France. In both France and Britain—indeed throughout the north-west of Europe—two clearly marked phases are discernible in the cultural development of the bronze age. This has been emphasized of late years by several regional workers, notably by Dr. Cyril Fox,³ and the writer reached similar conclusions independently from a study of the hoards of Normandy and Brittany.

¹ J. Evans, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1873, 2nd series, vol. V., 392-412.

² *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme*, Paris, 1875, 374.

³ Cyril Fox, "The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region," Cambridge, 1923, 20.

The first phase covers approximately periods I, II, III, and (in part) IV of the Montelius chronology.⁴ During this phase metal remains comparatively rare,



⁴ O. Montelius, "The Chronology of the British Bronze Age," *Arch.*, LXI., 97-162. Some of the larger palstave hoards belong to the second phase. *E.g.*, the Birchington hoard (*Ant. Journ.*, 1924, 220-226).

Progress was retarded, according to many students, by the survival of megalithic cults. (Childe, "Dawn of European Civilization," p. 301.) The re-emergence of such cults at the end of the second phase is a remarkable feature of the Armorican bronze age, evident in the enormous offerings of inutile square-socketed axes.

technical processes limited and cultural progress slight once the freshness of native genius has worn off. The palstave and the rapier are the culminating achievements of this phase, the ends of natural lines of evolution from original flat celt and dagger.

Inaugurating the second phase, the socketed axe and the leaf-shaped (better termed *flange-hilted*) sword make their appearance, and in association in hoards we find many other specialized objects of fixed forms, the significance of which was first demonstrated by Crawford.⁵ They include winged celts, special varieties of socketed celts (e.g. those having ornamental wings), chisels, gouges, buttons, razors, tweezers, sickles, tanged and socketed knives and daggers, certain types of bracelets and various bugle-shaped or "mysterious"⁶ objects of uncertain use. Many of these bronzes have long puzzled British archaeologists—a fact in itself suggestive. For these objects have no direct prototypes in western industries, whereas they have a respectable ancestry, for the most part, in central Europe, where the key to the culture sequence in the west is undoubtedly to be found.

The later part of the bronze age is marked by the wide adoption of cremation burial in urns, usually in flat cemeteries or urnfields. This custom first became popular in east central Europe: as it spread, several novel traits appear, and the whole complex came to possess a remarkable power of diffusion. In many regions the appearance of the "urnfield culture" heralded a great advance in cultural evolution. Along the northern margins of the Alps it brought the industrial stimulus⁷ that ultimately led to the adoption of iron and so to the Hallstatt culture. Reinecke indeed uses the term Hallstatt A for the period 1100-950 in central Europe, thus allowing the transitional nature of what is usually known as the last stage of the bronze age. The metallurgical skill and variety of technique displayed in the industries of this time could be more easily understood if we surmised a knowledge of the properties of iron. Thus a process which was *necessary* in iron-working, viz. hammering, is sometimes cited as a distinguishing mark of late bronze industries, and was selected by de Mortillet as criterion of his second phase. Though the validity of this distinction is open to grave doubts, we can with more confidence assign to the urnfield or leaf-sword period the origins of several culture-traits that were to become typical of the full iron age which commenced in central Europe when a regional variety of bronze sword was copied in the new metal.

A brief consideration of the geographical background will help towards an understanding of the important expansion of culture and movements of people during the urnfield period. The climate of Europe north of the Alps appears to have been growing more and more continental throughout the bronze age;⁸ and with this favourable change from Atlantic conditions we may correlate the abundant evidence for a widespread extension of cultivation. Under conditions of climate more suitable for cereal growth than any which agriculture in central Europe had previously known, the grain crops would become better adapted to the environment north of the Alps. Numerous bronze sickles characterize the late bronze finds over much of central Europe, especially on the north-western side of the fold mountains. It is suggestive that the salt deposits of Hallstatt, Hallein, Reichenhall⁹ and the Jura seem first to have been extensively worked during the urnfield period, for it is commonly held that a cereal diet requires the addition of

⁵ O. G. S. Crawford, "A Prehistoric Invasion of England," *Ant. Journ.*, 1922, II., 27-35.

⁶ J. Evans, "Ancient Bronze Implements," London, 1881, 396: but see Estyn Evans, *Antiquity*, 1930, p. 164.

⁷ V. G. Childe, "The Danube in Prehistory," Oxford, 1929, 341.

⁸ C. E. P. Brooks, "Climate through the Ages," London, 1926, 340.

⁹ V. G. Childe, *op. cit.*, 334.

salt. The abundant remains of this period and their wide distribution also indicate increased populations encouraged by settlement and augmented food resources.

Movement must have been greatly facilitated by the possession of the domesticated horse, evidenced in the bridle-bits which were used to control him. The thinning of the forests under climatic and human agencies, favouring and accompanying agricultural colonization, would also give space and grazing ground for the horse.

The suggestion has been made that it was with the adoption of the horse for use in battle that the long cut-and-thrust flange-hilted sword was invented. Swords of this type, at any rate, spread widely and rapidly through most parts of Europe during the later part of the bronze age. Peake¹⁰ has given the credit for their invention to the Nordic folk of western Hungary, and there now seems little doubt, despite the claims of Kossinna, Reinecke, Naue, Undset and Remouchamps for areas so diverse as N. Germany, the Aegean, Italy, Egypt and the Hittite territory, that the cut-and-thrust swords were the "native creations of the smiths of Central Europe."¹¹

The age of the urnfields, too, witnessed the diffusion of the socketed and also of the end-winged axe—the two final products of separate lines of evolution from the flanged celt. There is no direct genealogical connexion between them¹²: indeed notwithstanding the long-accepted typological sequence the socketed axe makes its appearance first, though it outlasts the winged axe in most regions. With the application to the axe of the idea of the socket the problem which had from the dawn of the bronze period stimulated progress in metal-working—that of haft-fixation—was finally solved. Up to this stage the successive improvements of devices for hafting had involved the use of increased quantities of metal, while the final solution, in theory, actually economized metal. In the first place the walls of the socket might be made thin without loss of structural stability; and secondly much of the space taken up by the external haft might now be saved since with the socket, haft and blade could be one and the same: the greater part of the axe could be utilized for penetration and it could thus be made shorter than earlier forms. Later on, anyhow, a tendency in this direction can be observed in the socketed celts of Ireland and of Denmark.¹³

But the device of the internal haft had this disadvantage: it meant a blade with broader cross-section than some older varieties, unless, as frequently happened, special means of overcoming this difficulty were adopted. The advantage in this respect of the end-winged celt, with its fine chisel-like blade, may help to explain why the socketed axe did not prevail in every region. In Switzerland and the adjoining portions of S.W. Germany and E. France, for instance, a special type of winged axe—the *lappenabsatzbeil*¹⁴ of Kraft (Lissauer's *Pfahlbautyp*¹⁵)—continued to be used until the collapse of the pile-dwellings. It is a plausible hypothesis that this adze-like tool was adapted for working in wood. We have ample evidence for the skilled craftsmanship of the wood-workers of the Alpine province during the late bronze age; and their aptitudes have persisted down to the present day. Moreover many of their smaller tools—chisels, hammers, gouges—were clearly intended for woodwork.

This winged axe is of special importance in considering western culture-origins. It seems to have originated in the west Alpine province as a hybrid

¹⁰ H. J. E. Peake, "The Bronze Age and the Celtic World," London, 1922, 85.

¹¹ V. G. Childe, *op. cit.*, 251.

¹² H. S. Harrison, "The origin of the socketed bronze celt," *MAN*, XXVI., 143.

¹³ British Museum, "Bronze Age Guide," London, 1920, 133.

¹⁴ Estyn Evans, "The Sword-bearers," *Antiquity*, 1930, 158.

¹⁵ A. Lissauer, *Zeit. für Ethnologie*, 1906, 823.

between the palstave and the median-winged celt,¹⁶ this province being on the borders between the two axe-territories and revealing persistently in its cultures many indications of fusion between central and western European traditions. This is a notable feature of the late bronze age, when the invasion of the urnfield folk from the east, introducing¹⁷ the novel culture outlined above, resulted in a synthesis with native tradition evidenced in the brilliant "bel âge du bronze" of the pile-dwellings. Here, although the winged axes far outnumber the socketed, yet the latter are not uncommon in the western stations, and among them occurs a form we shall refer to later. Dr. Forel gives the following figures for the station known as Cité de Genève¹⁸: winged axes, 25; socketed, 19.

If now we turn to western Europe we find the socketed axe so far outnumbering the winged that the true significance of the latter type has been overlooked. In Brittany the second phase of the bronze age is represented by over 50 hoards which reveal a culture quite distinct both from the native palstave culture and from the decadent square-axe cult representing, with its many thousand axes, the later revival of "megalomania."

Variety is the key-note of the late bronze industries: frequently we read in reports by local investigators of the resemblance between these hoards and the Swiss "pile-dwelling material." In view of Crawford's theory of a prehistoric invasion of Britain from that source the Armorican evidence is of great interest, though general resemblance of regional cultures is of itself no proof of ethnic movements from one region to the other.

On examination, however, the comparison between the Breton hoards and the Swiss material is seen to be applicable in detail. In the Morbihan, for instance, the winged axe is more abundant than the socketed in the industry under discussion in the proportion 3-1, a figure not unlike that in many stations of western Switzerland. Associated with the winged axe, in Brittany as in Britain, is a socketed axe with ornamental wings cast in relief near the mouth of the socket. This type is also known in western Switzerland,¹⁹ where it may be suspected to have originated. Moreover, many of the smaller bronzes of the complex hoards of the west can be exactly matched in the pile-dwellings, while others show normal development from prototypes found there. The frequent recurrence of gouges, chisels and hammers, as well as buttons, razors, etc., is noteworthy.

In Britain the winged axe has a limited distribution around the continental angle, in the Lowland Province. It has been contended from the fragmentary nature of the hoards in which these axes have mostly been found that they were not used in Britain but represent obsolete continental specimens displaced by iron tools and exported to this country for recasting. The associated fragments of swords are explained in the same way.²⁰ But they can only have come in such quantities from N.W. France, where these types were the last of their lines; and iron replaced bronze here no earlier than it did in S.E. Britain. Moreover the French, and indeed most "founders' hoards" are equally fragmentary, and that the winged axe was not merely antique scrap is shown by the occurrence in the N.W. province of no less than a dozen moulds for its manufacture.

¹⁶ G. Kraft, "Die Stellung der Schweiz innerhalb der bronzezeitlichen Kulturgruppen Mitteleuropas," Zurich, 1928, 16.

¹⁷ They were responsible for the introduction of the flange-hilted sword, while it is claimed that the "swift Asiatic horse" as well as a new variety of dog, appear at the same time. Childe, *Danube*, p. 356.

¹⁸ Munro, "The Lake Dwellings of Europe," London, 1890, 89.

¹⁹ Cf. F. Keller, *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland*. London, 1878. Vol II., Pl. LIX., 13.

²⁰ W. P. Brewis, "The Bronze Sword in Great Britain," *Arch.*, LXXIII., 259.

It seems to be true of Britain, as the Abbé Breuil remarks for the bronze age in Picardy,²¹ that it is the appearance of the winged axe which heralds the greatly enriched culture of the second phase.

But we also find, in association, an unmistakable variety of another "late bronze" object, the flange-hilted sword. This weapon, characterized by its strongly rounded mid-rib and *carp's tongue* point, has been described more fully elsewhere.²² It is common in S.E. Britain, while some 120 specimens are known from Brittany and nearly 100 in the Iberian peninsula. Outside western Europe this sword is found only in the west Alpine province. In the west it appears as a fixed form and disappears without a direct successor: in the Swiss pile-dwellings it seems to occupy a stage in the evolution of the well-known Möriegen sword from a prototype which reached this province with the urnfields. The direction of the connecting link between these two regions, even if otherwise open to doubt, is thus irreversible.

It would seem therefore that so far as material culture is concerned there is evidence to show that an important transforming current reached western Europe at the beginning of the late bronze age, inaugurating the second culture-phase mentioned above. The main elements of this culture have been identified with the urnfield civilization, but details reveal the imprint of the west Alpine province. It was apparently through that virile channel that the first contributions of the urnfield folk to the life of the west were made, and these contributions became the common heritage of the late bronze age in western Europe. In the iron age, it is clear, later phases of the urnfield civilization reached Britain from the lower Rhine,²³ but these contacts should be sharply distinguished from that outlined here.

I believe with Crawford that we are dealing with actual movements of population, but I differ from him as to chronology. He held that the "invasion" took place in the eighth century or later, and has since argued²⁴ that the late bronze complex reached Britain about the beginning of la Tène times. Dr. R. C. C. Clay²⁵ has advanced similar views. The bronze types described above belong on the continent to the end of the second millennium,²⁶ and if the theory of the evolution of the Swiss swords advanced above is correct it may be possible to date the migration with greater precision. At any rate a date before rather than after 1000 B.C. seems probable. This accords with the dating of the swords in S. Spain.²⁷

Moreover, in Britain the threatened extinction of the late bronze age is being averted by evidence from excavations²⁸ which shows the Hallstatt-la Tène culture to be clearly distinguished from that of the late bronze age.

Whether we can yet identify the British urnfields with the bronze hoards is more doubtful; and though, *a priori*, this correlation is likely, it would not be improbable for the material culture of the urnfield complex to have outrun the burial rites associated with it in central Europe. Dr. Fox,²⁹ however, has advanced theories in connexion with the origin of the encrested urns which tend to strengthen the view that the Deverel-Rimbury pottery belongs to the pure bronze age. By a process of absorption such as Dr. Fox envisages we may understand how the

²¹ L'Abbé Breuil, "L'Âge du bronze dans le bassin de Paris," *l'Anthropologie*, XI.-XIV.

²² Estyn Evans, *loc. cit.*

²³ V. G. Childe, *op. cit.*, 365. See *Arch.*, LXXVII., 199.

²⁴ O. G. S. Crawford, *Ant. Journ.*, 1924, 220-226.

²⁵ R. C. C. Clay, *Ant. Journ.*, 1927, 465-485.

²⁶ In Switzerland they fall clearly in Reineck's "Hallstatt A", i.e. before 950 B.C., showing none of the "baroque" features of "Hallstatt B". (Kraft. see note 16).

²⁷ The Huelva Hoard, *Antiquity*, I., 106-107.

²⁸ List given in Hawkes, Myres and Stevens, *St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester; Winchester, 1930*, 126.

²⁹ Cyril Fox, *Ant. Journ.*, 1927, 126.

material heritage of the invaders reached the far west. The winged axe, for instance, did not reach the Highland Zone, but its influence may probably be seen in native palstaves with the lower portions of the flanges bent inwards. These occur in Wales and Scotland and are abundant in N.E. Ireland.

Analogy suggests that the language of the newcomers would spread with such a process of absorption of material culture. It is possible that this language was the first Celtic tongue to reach the British Isles.

E. ESTYN EVANS.

Africa, South. Sociology.

Barnes.

Relationships in Mashonaland. *By the Rev. B. H. Barnes, C.R.* **210**

1. *Consanguinity*.—It is impossible to convert simply an English term of relationship into an African one or *vice versa* because the systems are entirely different. In Mashonaland as in many parts of Africa one distinction not found in our system must constantly be kept in mind, and it will simplify the exposition if we use a special name for this distinction. The children of two brothers or of two sisters are regarded as more closely related than the children of a brother and sister. The children of my father's brothers or of my mother's sisters have been called for distinction my "ortho-cousins." The children of my father's sisters or of my mother's brothers are called my "cross-cousins." Often in African systems of relationship cross-cousins may marry one another, but ortho-cousins are forbidden to do so. The ortho-cousins are called by the same names as own brothers and sisters, and marriage between them ranks as incest.

Starting with relationships between people of the same generation, we find that a man calls by the same name *mukoma* all his elder brothers and his elder male ortho-cousins, i.e., all his elder male relations by blood of his own generation either on the father's side or on the mother's side except his cross-cousins. He calls all his younger brothers and his younger ortho-cousins by the name "*munuzuna*."

Similarly a woman calls all her elder female relations of her own generation, whether sisters or ortho-cousins, by the name "*mukoma*," and all her younger ones by the name "*munuzuna*." In practice the woman usually uses the honorific plural "*wakoma*" of her elder sister. In some parts it appears that *mukoma* (or *wakoma*) and *munuzuna* may be used even of persons of opposite sex, but most widely these terms are only used between persons of the same sex.

A man or a woman will call any sister, brother or ortho-cousin of the opposite sex by the name *hanzadzi*, which is thus a reciprocal term and always denotes one of an opposite sex.

Keeping still to blood relations, we take next the names used for people of the next generation before the speaker. Man or woman calls his or her own father *baba* or *bambo*, and the same name is applied to all his or her own father's *wakoma* and *wanuzuna*. In Manyikaland it is applied (generally with the addition of *mukadzi* or *mukunda*) even to the father's *hanzadzi*.

Man or woman calls his or her own mother by the name *mayi* (*mai*), which applies equally to all the own mother's *wakoma* and *wanuzuna*. In the case both of *baba* and *mayi*, the addition of *mukuru* indicates an elder brother or sister of the father or mother, and the addition of *muduku* or *nini* a younger one.

Any *hanzadzi* of the mother is called *sekuru* by man or woman, and this name belongs also to the sons of the mother's *hanzadzi*, but his daughter is called *mayi nini*. Whilst I (a man) call my maternal uncle *sekuru*, he will call me and my sister both *muzukuru* (*muzikuru* in M.). I call my father's *hanzadzi* by the name *zete* or *semukadzi* (var. *samukadzi*), except in Manyika, where the curious usage of *bambo mukadzi* or *bambo mukunda* is found. My father's *hanzadzi* calls both me and my sister by the name *muzukuru* or *myana wa hanzadzi*.

A man calls the son or daughter of his *yatele* by the name *muzukuru*, who in turn calls him *sekuru*. Thus one of my first cousins (my ortho-cousin) ranks under the same name as my own brother or sister, while another (the cross-cousin) comes under the same name as my grandchild. To one I may be just a younger brother, while to the other I stand in the honourable position of a "grandfather," though he, too, may be older than I.

For a girl, the case is slightly different. She calls the son or daughter of her *yatele* by the name *mzana* or *mzana wa yatele*, and they both call her *mayi nini*, so that the same person (a cross-cousin), being *mzana* to her and *muzukuru* to her own brother, may call her *mayi* and her brother *sekuru*.

Going back one generation further up the terms are fewer. Any grandfather is called *sekuru* (the same name as for the maternal uncle) and any grandmother is called *mbuya* (the same name as for the mother-in-law of a man), and these names extend to all the *yakoma* and *yanununa* of the grandfather or grandmother, *sekuru* always denoting a male and *mbuya* always a female.

In the line of descent a man calls his own son *mzana* or *mzanarume* (*mzanakomana* and *murumbgana* being variants for *mzanarume*). His own daughter is called by him *mzana* (a neutral word) and also *mpanasikana* (in Manyika and Ndau, *mukunda*). These names again are extended to the *yakoma* and *yanununa* of the son and daughter respectively.

All the children of a man's, or of a woman's, *yana* are called *yazukuru* (var. in M. *wazikuru*) by their grandparents, the *sekuru* and *mbuya*.

2. *Affinity*.—Marriage brings the two parties to it into new relationships with each other's families, and new names are required here also. Fortunately these are fewer and simpler than the names used for consanguine relatives.

Starting from the man (M.) who marries a wife (F.), he calls all her male blood-relatives who have or may have authority over her in the matter of marriage, by the name *tezara* or *mukarabge*, and these all call him *mukuwasha* or *mukwambo*. These *yatezara* or *yakarabge* include: (i) all the *yababa* of F.; (ii) all her *hanzadzi*; and (iii) all the *zanarume*, *warumbgana* of her *hanzadzi*. Thus M. has *yatezara* in three generations, and all of them name him *mukuwasha* or *mukwambo*.

Next M. gives the name *mbuya* (hon. *ambuya*) to all the *yamai* of F. and to the wife of any *hanzadzi* of F., and they in turn also name him *mukuwasha* or *mukwambo*.

Thirdly, M. uses the name *muramu* (Manyika *mwaramu*) of any female *mukoma* or *munununa* of his wife; and also of the wife of any *mukoma* or *munununa* of his own. This name *muramu* is also applied reciprocally by them to him.

Fourthly, M. uses the name (i) *mukoma*, (ii) *munununa* of the husbands of any (i) *mukoma*, (ii) *munununa* of F. and they in reply call him respectively (i) *munununa*, (ii) *mukoma*.

Looking now at the new relationships by affinity from the point of view of the wife F. the groupings and names change somewhat. F. calls all the *yababa* of her husband *tezara* (in Manyika is found occ. the term *sezani*), and they call her *murowora*.

F. calls the *mai* of her husband *vamgene* (in Manyika *mbuya*), and is called by her *murowora*.

F. calls the male *mukoma* or *munununa* of M. by the name *muramu*, not classing him with her husband's father, and as before this name is used reciprocally.

Again, F. calls the *hanzadzi* of her husband by the name *vamgene* which she also uses for his *mai*, and this *vamgene* of F. also calls F. by the name *murowora*.

F. calls the husband of any *mukoma* or *munununa* of her own by the name *muramu*, just as she does to her husband's *mukoma* or *munununa*.

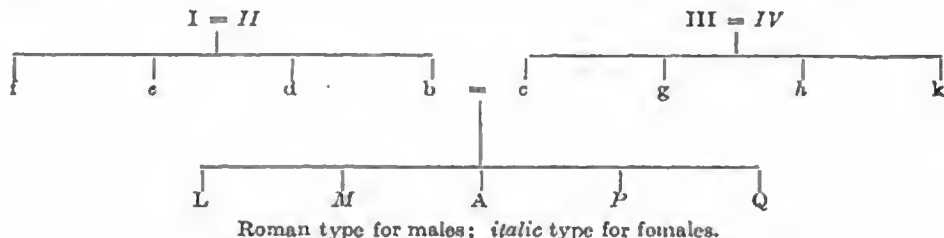
The relationship between two people of opposite sex who call one another *muramu* appears to imply a possibility of marriage between them, and is still used

even when existing marriages take away that possibility, as is the case among monogamists.

Similarly, the term *mbuya* used by a man of a woman appears generally to imply the marriage or possibility of marriage between the man and a daughter of the woman.

BERTRAM H. BARNES.

BERTRAM H. BARNES.



Roman type for males; *italic type* for females.

First generation in Roman numbers, I, II, III and IV.

Second " small letters, f, c, d, b, c, g, h and k.

Second	„	Small letters, <i>T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z.</i>
Third	„	Capitals <i>L, M, A, P, Q.</i>

LIST 1. A's names for his various relations by blood in $\begin{cases} \text{Zezuru (Z)} \\ \text{Manyika (M)} \end{cases}$

1. A calls by the name *mukoma* L and all the sons of f, d, and h who are A's elders.
They all call A *munuzuna*.
2. A calls by the name *munuzuna*, Q and all the sons of f, d, and h who are junior to A.
They all call him *mukoma*.
3. A calls by the name *hanzadzi* his sisters M, P and all the daughters of f, d and h.
They call him *hanzadzi*.
4. A calls by the name *nyana wa yatele* all sons and daughters of e.
They call him *sekuru*.
5. A calls by the name *sekuru* all the sons of g and k.
They call him *muzukuru*.
6. A calls by the name *mayi nini* all daughters of g and k.
They call him *nyana*, (*nyanarume*; *mukorori*)
7. A calls by the name *baba*, or *bambo* b and d and f, (and in Manyika even e as well, adding *mukadzi* or *mukunda*.)
They call him *nyana*, *nyanarume*.
8. A calls by the name *yatele* (se- or sa-mukadzi) e as a rulo, but see 7.
She calls him *nyana wa hanzadzi*
or *muzukuru*.
9. A calls by the name *sekuru* I, III, g and k. In Karanga (K), the dialect of the southern parts of Mashonaland, *teteguru* is used of I and *sekuru* of III.
They call him *muzukuru*.*
10. A calls by the name *mayi* c, h and the daughters of g and k (see 6).
They call him *nyana*, *nyanarume*.
11. A calls by the name *mbuya* both II and IV.
They call him *muzukuru*.
12. A calls by the name *nyana*, *nyanasikana* or *nyanarume* any child born to him or to his
They all call him *baba*, *bambo* [*yakomu* or his *munununa*].

LIST 2. Names used by *M* and *P* for their blood-relations—in $\begin{cases} \text{Zezuru} \\ \text{Manyika.} \end{cases}$

1. *P* calls by the name
They call her *mukoma* *M* and all daughters of *f*, *d*, and *h* who are senior to *P*.
mununjunu.
2. *M* calls by the name
They call her *mununjunu* *P* and all daughters of *f*, *d* and *h* who are junior to *M*.
mukoma
3. *M* and *P* call by the name
These all call *M* and *P* *hanzadzi* *L*, *A*, *Q* and all sons of *f*, *d*, and *h*.
hanzadzi.
4. *M* and *P* call by the name
They all call *M* and *P* *mzana* or *mz waratele* all sons and daughters of *e*.
mayi nini.
5. *M* and *P* call by the name
They call *M* and *P* *sekuru* all sons of *g* and *k*.
mzana wa yatele or *muzukuru*.
6. *M* and *P* call by the name
They call *M* and *P* *mayinini* all daughters of *g* and *k*.
mzana or *mzana wa yatele*.
7. *M* and *P* call by the name
They call *M* and *P* *baba, bambo* *b*, *d*, *f* and even *e* (see List 1, 7).
mzana, mzanasikana, mukunda.
8. *M* and *P* call by the name
She calls them *yatele (samukadzi)* *e*, but see 7.
mzana wa hanzadzi or *muzukuru*.
9. *M* and *P* call by the name
They call *M* and *P* *sekuru* *I* and *III* and *g* and *k*, and see 5.
muzukuru.*

10. *M* and *P* call by the name *mayi* *c*, *h* and all daughters of *g* and *k*.
They call *M* and *P* *myana*, *myanasikana*, *mukunda*.
11. *M* and *P* call by the name *mbuya* both *II* and *IV*.
They call *M* and *P* *muzukuru*.
12. *M* and *P* call by the name *myana*, *myanasikana*, or *myanarume* any child borne by them or by any *mukoma* or *munununa* of *M* and *P*.

These all call *M* and *P* *mayi*, *mayi mukuru* or *muduku*.

*N.B. Chi-Manyika variants: *muzikuru* for *muzukuru*.
bambo mukunda for father's sister.
mwanakomana or *murumbwana* for a son.
mukunda for a daughter.

List 3.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>b</i> calls <i>III</i> | <i>tezara</i> or <i>mukarabge</i> . |
| is called by <i>III</i> and <i>IV</i> | <i>mukwambo</i> or <i>mukuwasha</i> . |
| 2. <i>b</i> calls <i>IV</i> | <i>mbuya</i> . |
| 3. <i>b</i> calls <i>g</i> and <i>k</i> and their sons | <i>tezara</i> or <i>mukarabge</i> . |
| is called by <i>g</i> and <i>k</i> and their sons | <i>mukwambo</i> , or <i>mukuwasha</i> . |
| 4. <i>b</i> calls <i>h</i> and is called by her | <i>mwaramu</i> or <i>muramu</i> . |
| 5. <i>b</i> calls the wives of <i>g</i> and <i>k</i> | <i>mbuya</i> , |
| and is called by them | <i>mukwambo</i> or <i>mukuwasha</i> . |
| 5a. <i>b</i> calls <i>g</i> 's daughter | <i>mukadzi</i> |
| and is called by her | <i>murume</i> . |
| 6. <i>b</i> calls the husband of <i>h</i> | <i>munununa</i> . |
| and is called by him | <i>mukoma</i> . |
| 7. <i>b</i> 's sons and grandsons may not marry into family of (<i>III</i> = <i>IV</i>), but his great-grand-children may. | |
| 8. <i>c</i> calls <i>I</i> | <i>tezara</i> , (<i>K</i>) <i>murumekuru</i> . (<i>M</i>) <i>sezani</i> . |
| and is called by <i>I</i> and <i>II</i> | <i>muruwora</i> . In <i>Z</i> . while newly m. they call her <i>mukaranga</i> or <i>munenga</i> . |
| 9. <i>c</i> calls <i>II</i> | <i>vamnene</i> (<i>mbuya</i> , <i>M</i>). |
| 10. <i>c</i> calls <i>f</i> and <i>d</i> | { <i>mwa-</i> } - <i>ramu</i> ; (<i>K</i>), <i>murumekuru</i> ; if they are junior to <i>b</i> , <i>murunyana</i> . |
| and is called by <i>f</i> and <i>d</i> | { <i>mu-</i> } " " ; <i>K</i> . <i>mukadzi womukuru</i> (<i>munununa</i>). |
| 11. <i>c</i> calls <i>e</i> | <i>vamnene</i> (<i>M</i> . <i>semukadzi</i>). |
| and is called by <i>e</i> | <i>muruwora</i> ; (<i>K</i>) <i>muk. we hanzadzi</i> . |
| 12. <i>I</i> and <i>II</i> call <i>III</i> | <i>tezara</i> and <i>IV</i> <i>mbuya</i> . |
| <i>III</i> calls <i>I</i> | <i>mukwambo</i> . |
| <i>II</i> and <i>IV</i> call one another | <i>mbuya</i> . |

Macedonia: Archæology.

Heurtley.

Prehistoric Macedonia: What has been and what remains to be done. By W. A. Heurtley, M.A., Assistant Director of the British School of Archæology in Athens. **211**

One of the principal results of recent archæological research in Macedonia has been to establish the existence of a uniform metal-using culture distributed throughout Central and Western Macedonia and Chalcidice during the latter half of the second millennium B.C. The affinities of this culture lie unmistakably with Troy and N.W. Asia Minor, and its point of departure must accordingly be sought there. But it has at the same time such numerous and striking affinities with the Early Helladic culture of South and Central Greece, itself held to be of S.W. Anatolian origin, that a common source for both cultures may be inferred.

As far as Central Macedonia and Chalcidice are concerned, the subsequent course of things is fairly well known as the result of recent excavations. These show that, in spite of a period of interruption (from about 2000 B.C. to 1600 B.C.) differing in origin, character and intensity in each region, the original Anatolian element persisted; it survived the period of Mycæan settlements, and, in the Vardar valley, the Lausitz invasion; and it continued to flourish far into the Iron Age and the period of Greek penetration. The geographical limits of this characteristic Macedonian culture have also been established by excavation and by surface finds, both in Central Macedonia and in Chalcidice.

But in Western Macedonia the case is different. Of the three sites so far excavated, two, Sérvia and Armenochóri, seem not to have been occupied after the end of the Early Bronze Age; while the third site, Boubousti, is a settlement of the very end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. There is thus, at present, a gap in the records, and though some of the Early Bronze Age people undoubtedly passed into Thessaly, it seems curious that a remnant should not have stayed behind. The geographical limits, too, of this Early Bronze Age civilization are still uncertain here. Recent finds at Dodóna do indeed suggest that the barrier of Pindus was passed, but the North-West corner, round the headwaters of the Crna River, is still unexplored; the most northern site which has been identified in this direction being at Tsepígovo, 20 miles north of Bitolj. (Fig. 1.)



FIG. 1.—TSEPIGOVO: A PREHISTORIC SITE TWENTY MILES NORTH OF BITOLJ.

In order, therefore, to complete the programme of research into the prehistory of Macedonia, which has been carried out under the auspices of the British School at Athens during the last eight years, further exploration in the Crna valley is imperative. Starting with Tsepígovo and working northwards it should be possible in two campaigns of one month each (spread over two years, since the latter half of April and the beginning of May seems to be the only suitable time in this district) to obtain the required information. The goodwill of the Jugo-Slav authorities is assured, and it is hoped they may actually co-operate.

Incidentally, exploration in this region is likely to throw some light on another problem. In the recent excavations at Armenochóri, several contacts with the Vinča-Crudatz culture were discovered. It seems certain that, by pushing further North, more contacts will appear and that data will be obtained which may contribute towards the solution of one of the outstanding problems of European prehistory, namely, the dating of Vinča I.

W. A. HEURTLEY.

India: Folklore.

L. A. Cammiade.

Man-Eaters and Were-Tigers. By L. A. Cammiade.

In the *Illustrated London News*, 30th May, 1931, pp. 928-29, appear **212** two pages of pictures illustrating an article on "The Terror of Danauli," by Mr. Leonard Handley, in which he describes how, in the Central Provinces, he tracked down and shot at close quarters a man-eater that had killed over thirty people. No whisper seems to have reached Mr. Handley's ears that the man-eater he was hunting was not really a tiger, but a man who by magic had assumed that form for nefarious ends. That such, indeed, was the firm opinion of the local

jungle people, the Gonds, is evident from several of the details recorded by Mr. Handley.

Gonds, like other people living in tiger-infested parts, are not afraid of tigers; or, at least, not more than we are afraid of motor cars in our streets. Mr. Handley himself noticed that the Gonds persistently wander in the jungle, even when they know that a man-eater is on the prowl. Near one of Mr. Handley's camps a woman went far out into the jungle to gather firewood, and took her little boy with her, although she must have been fully aware of the depredations that had been committed by the man-eater in the neighbourhood. Consequently she was killed by it on her way home. On hearing what had happened, Mr. Handley hurried to the place where the tiger was devouring the woman. Then, to his great surprise, he found himself suddenly deserted by the Gonds. This sudden cowardice on the part of the Gonds could not have been due to ordinary fear. Their conditions of life are such that they have almost daily to penetrate the jungle individually, like the woman who had been killed, and run the risk of being attacked by man-eaters in circumstances that would preclude all reasonable hope of defence. Such people would certainly not be afraid to proceed in an armed body to tackle a tiger, especially when they had a European to lead them. The only reasonable explanation for their conduct is that they were afraid of the dire consequences to be incurred from a malign power against whom Mr. Handley's rifle would prove powerless.

The inference that the Gonds feared witchcraft is borne out by the fact that on certain other occasions the Gonds would not follow the blood-trail except as a "frenzied crowd and to the accompaniment of drums and fireworks." The shouting, the drums, and especially the fireworks, show that it was witchcraft of which the Gonds were afraid. Gonds know as well as anybody that all that noise and hubbub was utterly superfluous for the purpose of scaring away the man-eater, and that such a demonstration would hopelessly frustrate Mr. Handley's attempts to rid them of the pest. As against witchcraft, however, the use of such means is quite intelligible.

Again, it appears that the corpse of one of the man-eater's victims was treed after it had been recovered. The practice of placing in a tree the victims of witchcraft is observed by the Koi and the Konda Reddis, two other jungle tribes who inhabit the eastern border of the same tract of jungle as the Gonds. Any animals, even chickens, that die under circumstances suggesting witchcraft, are thus treed. Trees are chosen not because of any virtue that is in them, but simply because they happen to be in jungle parts the best available props. The object in propping up victims of witchcraft is to keep the body from resting on the earth. Why the body should not touch the earth, I cannot say.

Whenever a man-eater is allowed to wander at large for many months killing people at will and terrifying a wide extent of country, it may be suspected that it is fear of witchcraft, and not cowardice or want of weapons, that keeps the local people from ridding themselves of the scourge. Any old muzzle-loader is quite good enough to kill a tiger; they are frequently killed merely with the bows and arrows with which these jungle people habitually go armed. Moreover, they know exactly how and where to get at the tiger, and the European who sets out to hunt a man-eater can circumvent him only with the help and under the guidance of the local jungle people.

Where witchcraft is suspected by jungle folk, it would be unreasonable to expect them to proclaim the fact aloud. Even among themselves they will express their suspicions only with bated breath, and only to friends who can be trusted to be circumspect. Suspicion naturally falls on some man or woman as the author of the mischief; but to voice that suspicion would inevitably end in the murder of the accuser or the accused.

The same dread of the consequences of uttering one's suspicions too freely in such cases, causes these people to suppress a fact which, in their opinion, is an infallible proof of witchcraft. It is their belief that just as the devil in Europe cannot help showing the cloven hoof, whatever form he may assume, so the were-tiger has perforce to exhibit either a human hand or a human foot; so that, consequently, the tracks of a were-tiger are always associated with the imprint of a human hand or foot.

One of the illustrations to Mr. Handley's article calls for comment. It shows two large-sized human figures seated cross-legged with the hands resting on the knees. These figures are said to be "tiger deities, who had to be propitiated after the slaying of the man-eater." I venture to doubt whether this statement can be correct. Assuming that there is a Gond deity to whom the tiger is sacred, the natural procedure would have been to obtain the deity's permission before setting out to kill one of his pets. Judging from the practice adopted in approaching other



TIGER DEITIES WHO HAD TO BE PROPITIATED AFTER THE SLAYING OF THE MAN-EATER.
(Reproduced by permission from the "Illustrated London News," 30 May, 1931, p. 929.)

malevolent deities, propitiation must precede infringement of the deity's prerogatives. Furthermore, a favourable omen must be sought to make sure that permission has been granted. It would be folly for the suppliant to assume that permission follows as a matter of course in such cases; and it would be considered the height of impertinence, after committing such a misdeed, to come and hope to humour an evil-minded god by the sacrifice of a few cocks or goats or even buffaloes.*

The ceremony that was performed at the feet of the deities shown in the illustration savours more of an act of thanksgiving for deliverance from the ravages

* A village headman, exercising almost despotic powers over a jungle tribe near the banks of the lower Godavari, once foolishly trespassed on the preserve of a local deity of the malevolent type. Presently a rumour spread that the deity had appeared to him in a dream and had demanded suitable propitiation. His offer of animal sacrifice was rejected. He then proposed a human victim; but this offer was also rejected. Even the offer to sacrifice his wife would not satisfy the deity. The unfortunate headman was then told that the only atonement possible was to offer himself as a victim. This rumour was not idle tittle-tattle. The headman had fallen ill, and it was known that he had sacrificed many buffaloes to this particular deity, but that his health had not improved. The local people were apprehensive that the headman would sooner or later try to appease the deity with human sacrifice and that somebody might be secretly kidnapped for that purpose after dusk.

of the man-eater. The purely human shape of the figures and their peaceful attitude do not indicate blood-thirsty gods, but strongly remind me of the statues set up by modern Koi to the spirits of notable ancestors. The practice of setting up memorials to ancestors goes back very far among these neighbours of the Gonds. The memorial may take the form of a large well-rounded stone from the bed of a river, or a plain rough slab of stone, or a sculptured slab representing the ancestor in some heroic attitude, usually in the act of killing a tiger; or, finally, the memorial may be in the form of a statue, like that of the Gonds shown in the illustration, free from extra arms, heads and other adjuncts customary to Indian divinities. Filial prayer is offered at these memorial stones to the spirits of the ancestors. The usual prayer of one of these semi-savage jungle people was, in the suppliant's own words, to the following effect: "I am starting on my journey through the forest to the weekly market. You are my ancestors, and I am your child. You must see that I get a good price for the tamarind I am selling, and you must protect me from the tiger on the way."

L. A. CAMMIADE.

Palestine.

Petrie.

Races in Early Palestine. *By Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie.*

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The examination of Old Gaza has illustrated the changes of race in the pre-Israelite ages. The city is placed on a sandstone bluff at the side of the Wady Ghuzzah, which was formerly an estuary. The desolation of the district by malaria seems to date from about 2000 B.C., as the latest dated objects were scarabs of the Hyksos king Apepa I, of 2250 B.C. The people moved to the healthier site of the present city of Gaza. The silting up of the estuary (like the Cinque Ports) destroyed the harbour, and gave ground for malarious pools. Our party have now canalized the valley, and we hope to have restored the healthiness of the district.

The Hyksos people, who last occupied the site (XVth dynasty of Egypt), are marked by their use of horses, presumably having come from Central Asia. The horse in this site was a sturdy cob with large head; in the stoutness of it, far from the slender Arab. It has, however, some Arab traits, and it might well be the ancestral type, more akin to the Mongolian, but from which in four thousand years the modern Arab and Mongolian have both diverged.

The Hyksos graves were distinguished by the horse-burials along with those of men. The strange custom of removing some of the limbs at burial, of men, horses and asses, may be connected with separate properties in slaves or animals. The tombs are circular, 10-12 feet across, or oblong up to 15 × 25 feet; how they were roofed is uncertain, owing to denudation. The human bodies lie full length in *loculi* round the sides, and the horse in the middle. The Hyksos—like the Turk—had no products of their own, but used whatever they found in the lands which they over-ran. They were short, like the Huns, men averaging 61 inches.

The Canaanite (= XIIth dynasty) who had been conquered, was distinguished by burials with the limbs irregularly spread out, as in death, and not composed as was usual among other races. Their tombs were found last year, as descending passages leading to a chamber on each hand; this year they were in single chambers. It is to this settled people that we must ascribe the regular town building, with excellent large bricks, fireplaces, baths, and privies, and an abundance of pottery of good forms. They imported much painted pottery of types probably Anatolian (Fig. 1), but the palm tree shows that it was not from further north than Cilicia. They were on a par with the Levantine of Greek times in general civilization. Their position was the Middle Bronze Age.

The Canaanite had been preceded by a race from North Syria or Cilicia, which was marked by the use of button badges or amulets. These people swept down

through Syria into Egypt, and ruled there as the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties. No trace of the button badge was found in South Palestine, and there was a total break in type of tomb and of pottery.

The civilization which the North Syrian displaced may be called the Copper Age. It was marked by tombs and beads like those of the IVth-VIth



FIG. 1.—PAINTED POTTERY FROM OLD GAZA IN PALESTINE.

dynasties in Egypt. The fortifications were vast; a vertical drop of 20 feet or more on the outer side of the fosse, and then a slope of 150 feet at 35° up to the city. The same type is seen at Emesa (Homs), where the slope is revetted with deep blocks of basalt, faced over with slabs of limestone. From the city gate a tunnel 500 feet long led out into the plain, met by a rock-cut sunk road, and

another great fosse of unknown use. The interval between this age and the later Canaanite is marked by 7 or 8 feet of denudation of the soil in some places, entirely cutting away part of the tunnel, and removing the roof and sides of some rock tombs. The pottery of these people was linked to the neolithic by the degraded wavy handles, but they were using large copper weapons, probably from Cyprus. This stage links in at about the close of the neolithic series found last year.

We have then already separated the products of four different races, within two thousand years before the Israelite occupation. The British School of Egyptian Archaeology has been aided in this work by New York University. It is hoped that the large staff of 400 natives and a dozen English will be enabled to uncover the more important buildings in the next season. FLINDERS PETRIE.

Fiji.

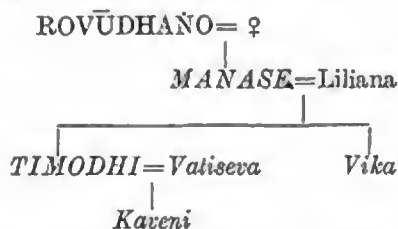
Hocart.

Alternate Generations in Fiji. By A. M. Hocart, M.A.

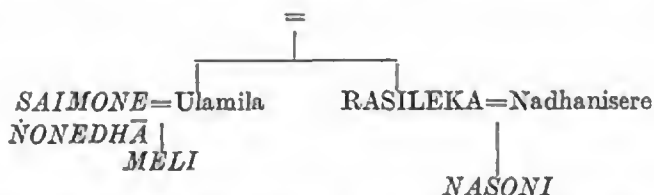
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It was always assumed that the Mbauan kinship was universal in Fiji until Dr. Rivers in a flying visit discovered the variety of systems and their most important feature, which we may term the principle of alternate generations.

The Malu tribe yields a good example: in the accompanying fragment of



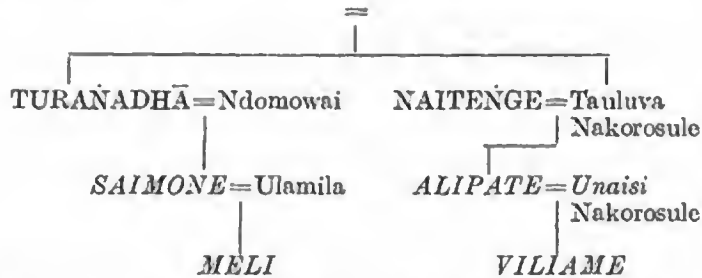
genealogy Timodhi calls Ro Vūdhaño *tutua* and Vika *tadhingu*; they will address



him respectively as *tadhingu* and *tutua*. To record only the most striking consequences (which vary in each tribe) Ulamila of Nakorosule in the next pedigree calls Nasoni *vunianggu*, that is brother's son, when he is little, but when he is older she will promote him two, not one generation, to be her *tama* (father); a woman of the same tribe will call her grandson *noŋgu ndiva*, that is "my memento," because when her husband dies the sight of her grandson keeps him in her remembrance. In Naitasiri *makumbu* is applied to the maternal grandfather, *tavale* is the cross-cousin, but in Nakorosule they are inter-changeable and depend upon age, not relationship, *makumbu* being respectful, and *tavale* suggesting licensed impudence. Again, Saimone Nonedhā is cross-cousin of Alipate, chief of Nairukuruku, and therefore Meli, his son, should be sister's son to Alipate, as appears in the accompanying genealogy, which has been so compressed as to make distant cousins appear as first cousins; but as a matter of fact it is Alipate who is sister's son to Meli, because Saimone is *makumbu* (maternal grandfather) to Alipate as well as *tavale* (cross-cousin).*

* The fact is well authenticated. I was first told so in Nairukuruku. I imagined at first that a mistake had been made and referred them to the pedigree, but they were very insistent, and claimed the right of *vasu*. I afterwards obtained confirmation from Saimone, who explained the why and the wherefore.

A man of Ngali Yalatini will speak of his daughter-in-law as his "wife's mother" (*nene ni watina*) because "we are brothers (*veitadhini*) to our children's children."



Dr. Rivers, however, missed one detail. The alternate generations have alternate names, *takō* and *lavō**; if I am *tako*, my father is *lavo*, my grandfather *tako* again, my greatgrandfather *lavo* and so on.

These two terms begin at Navuniyasi, three miles lower down the Udhiwai than Nakorosule, and extend to Mbā, down the Siinatoka, and spread over the modern province of Serua, excepting the tribe of Korolevu in the villages of Sērua, Dhulanuku, and Vūnimbau, who with Nandroñā have a different system. A Highlander thus knows the relationship in which he stands to all the inhabitants of the greater part of Viti Levu; if both are *tako* they are *veitadhini*, that is brother and brother, or grandparent and grandchild; if they are of different classes they are father and son.

The first point to ascertain is whether *tako* always marries *tako* and *lavo lavo*. It does not require many pedigrees to change the "always" into "generally"; we could have guessed as much since the marriage of tribal cross-cousins (*veilavale*) is the rule, but *vuno* and *vuno* are not unfrequently united. Inquiry has failed to discover any practical consequence of these classes at the present day: they do little more than survive in the Highlander's love of etiquette. My questions always received the same answer, that in entreaty the name of the class and the tribal animal or plant would be used, not that of the individual; thus in Nakorosule: "*Tako, levatuvakei*" (*tuvakei*, woman: the *tuvakei* is a plant), or simply: "*Tako*, give me some fire." I have heard this used in Neilanga so frequently that it may be said that no one intimately acquainted with the natives (which involves knowing the dialect) could miss it. Like most old customs this one survives best around chiefs and the terms are more especially reserved for them: their own name would be replaced by such a periphrasis as "Brown Lavo," or "Short Tako." In Nandrau only *young* noblemen are so called; after marriage they become "chiefs" or "lords" (*turana*). In Nakorosule the words have declined in importance, but I was told that higher up a stranger on arriving at a village would say: "Where is my class (*mataigali*), the *tako*?" ; whereat they would be glad (*marautaka*) and acknowledge him as a "son" or "brother" as the case might be. The only other application my most intelligent informant could find is in communal work; if the labourers are divided according to class, their rivalry will quicken the pace: this is characteristically Fijian. In Nandrau *tako* and *lavo* at house building will challenge each other to carry a tree; each party takes one end and the weaker is laughed at.

The alternate generations are connected with the tribal animals and plants. We have seen them coupled in entreaties. The Nambômbudho tribe had some common to all, but the bamboo (*mbitu*) was peculiar to the *tako*, the *mbombo* plant to the *lavo*; to the latter also belonged the bat, no equivalent animal for the *tako* seemed to be known. The Numbu tribe in Navai mollified a *tako* woman with

* In some parts apparently tákō and lāvō. K is really a kind of X, but we spell it k as it would be pronounced so on the coast.

The following month the process is repeated until only one member remains who has not yet borrowed; the last loan is taken by this member free of interest.

A member having taken the loan does not receive any further interest but pays the full \$50 a month. Of course a loan may not be taken twice by the same member.

In the chart it is assumed that a flat rate of \$10 interest is paid each month. In actual practice the amount varies greatly usually rising towards the end of the

Names.	Months.										Total paid in.	Loan drawn out.	Interest received.	Interest paid.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
A	X	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	\$450	\$450	nil	nil
B	50	X	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	450	370	nil	\$80
C	50	40	X	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	440	380	\$10	70
D	50	40	40	X	50	50	50	50	50	50	430	390	20	60
E	50	40	40	40	X	50	50	50	50	50	420	400	30	50
F	50	40	40	40	40	X	50	50	50	50	410	410	40	40
G	50	40	40	40	40	40	X	50	50	50	400	420	50	30
H	50	40	40	40	40	40	40	X	50	50	390	430	60	20
I	50	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	X	50	380	440	70	10
J	50	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	X	370	450	80	nil
Total Loan	450	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	4,140	4,140	360	360

period. Again, should any suspicion arise as to the stability of the head of the society, high bids of interest invariably follow, since members become anxious to secure what they can in case anything untoward should happen.

E. W. H. JACQUES.

Africa, East: Language.

Huntingford.

The Taturu, Mosiro, and Aramanik Dialects of Dorobo. By **217**
G. W. B. Huntingford.

I published a note on Taturu in MAN, 1928, 139, with the object of showing that it was a dialect of Dorobo. A longer vocabulary of Taturu, by F. Stuhlmann, is given in *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-Sprachen*, VI, 154, which includes some of the words given by Last ("Polyglotta Africana Orientalis," p. 188), and contains a number of other words which are Nandi, and a few which seem to be Māsac, e.g. :—

*Kinet, breast; Ndi., kinet.

Gyefat, child; Ndi., chepto; Kony, kiepto, girl.

Mait, calf; Ndi., moita.

*Sukwaret, day; cf. Karamojoŋg nakuare (Johnston's "Uganda Protectorate," ii, 903 sqq.); Māsac, kewarie, night.

Kutumut, elbow; Ndi., kutun(g)da.

Angeta, eye; from Nilotic root Wang, in Ndi., i-any, see; k-oŋg, eye; Māsac, -oŋgu, eye.

Kamenyat, honey; Ndi, kumiat, kumiandet.

Maririt, leopard; Ndi., melil-do.

Nyedet, man; Ndi., ŋgetet, boy.

*Banyek, meat; Ndi., panyek.

Tagut, mouth; Ndi., kut-it; Māsea, -kutuk.

Bulet, nail; Kony, puldet.

Ghat, neck; Ndi., kât-it.

Lukot, raid; Ndi., luget.

Longot, shield; Ndi., loŋg-et; Māsea, -loŋgo.

Nguta, spear; Ndi., ŋgot-it.

Get, tree; Ndi., ket-it.

*Yefsycya, twin; cf. Ndi., chep-eiyo, my sister.

*Sokoset, urine; Ndi., suku-ek.

*Yamet, wind; Kony, yomet.

A-du, black; Ndi., tui.

Gona, give me; Ndi., kôn-o.

Also the numbers 1-10, aki, yanya, samaku, anguari, nunti, lla, supa, sisi, seges, davana, which correspond to Ndi., akenge, oieŋg, somok, aŋgwan, mūt, 'lo, tisap, sisiit, sokol, taman; and 100, bokolaya; Ndi., pokol. These words, except those marked *, occur in the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepekendi dialect of Dorobo.

It appears that Stuhlmann was not acquainted with Nandi, hence such phrases as kormiana = Ndi., ka-a-mian, "I was ill," for "sickness"; korama bek = Ndi., ko-ram pêk, "he draws water," for "well"; and kitangen, which is rather like the Ndi., kiit' a-'ngen, "thing I know," for "name."

In structure, the language seems to be of the ordinary Nandi (and Dorobo) type, with primary forms, and secondary forms in -t (sing.) and -k (plur.). Nearly all the words are quoted in the secondary form; but in some cases the forms are corrupt, as is shown by words like gandayant, baboon, kedenk, beads, and arask, beard, in which the combinations nt, nk, and sk are quite foreign to the Nilo-Hamitic languages as endings, and which should probably have an e or i inserted, i.e., gandayanet, kedenik. The adjectives are given with a prefixed a-, as a-du, Ndi., tui, "black," which may represent a copula, possibly borrowed from the Mâsae masculine relative pronoun o-, as in o-rok, "which (is) black" (Ndi., ne, nye, or na tui). Eight of the eleven verbs given begin with ku- or go-, which is probably the same as ko-, the Ndi. and Dorobo 3rd pers. prefix in the narrative tense.

With the exception of the words quoted in this paper, and in MAN, 1928, 139, there are no other words which can be said to be Nandi, nor can I trace them in Dorobo or Mâsae.* But the Nandi character of the language is shown by such phrases as "duku habek" and "dokoka bek," which are given for "fish" and "frog," and are nothing more than the Ndi., tukuk ap pêk, "things of the water"; "kiyanet adet," for "horn," which should be kiyanet ap têtâ, the horn of the cow, where kiyanet might = the Dorobo lânet; "morenga kesit," for "toe," = morenik ap kesit, "the fingers of the leg"; "banyega dagut," for "lip," = panyek ap tagut, "the flesh of the mouth"—the construction and half the words of these are Nandi.

A Dorobo characteristic seems to be mb (mp) as a beginning of various words, of which Stuhlmann has two examples: mbembik, bell, and mboit, she-goat; though I can find no verbal correspondence in Dorobo, there are words in Kâmelilo Dorobo which begin in this way, e.g., mpitikoit, bell; and mboŋgit, quiver.

There appears to be no verbal correspondence between Taturu and the Dorobo dialects called Mosiro and Aramanik, by Mr. R. A. J. Maguire (*Journal of the African Soc.*, XXVII, 258 sqq.), other than words which are purely Nandi or Mâsae (numerals excepted). None of the unrelated words in Stuhlmann's list occur in Maguire's. In the Aramanik vocabulary only three words are recognizable: kirigit, ox (Ndi., kirkit, bull); oyet, God, possibly the same as Suk onyet, spirit, and Sapei oinot, God; and engat, wildebeest, Mâsae o-engat. In fact, except for the numerals, which, as given by Maguire, are a mixture of Gala, Nandi, and Mâsae, his Aramanik words are suspiciously like nonsense.† The same may be said of the vocabulary of "El Mogogodo," given to Mr. Hobley by Mr. A. Neuman, and printed in MAN, 1905, 21. It is by no means impossible for a native, with the best intentions in the world, to give to a European a list of words which mean nothing at all; and this is where, in dealing with Dorobo dialects, Europeans are apt to be misled when they have no knowledge of Nandi. Stuhlmann's Taturu can be shown to contain a number of Nandi words, and other words and phrases of Nandi character; Maguire's Mosiro is mostly Nandi; but his Aramanik and Neuman's El Mogogodo contain words

* Though possibly habiet, hyaena, may = Hobley's abiet, lion or leopard (Digiri Dorobo), MAN, 1905, 21.

† The word Aramanik has a (Nandi) secondary ending (plur.); Mosiro is, I think, Mâsae.

which for the most part are not like anything. The unrelated words in Stuhlmann's list may conceivably belong to the original Dorobo language, even though there is no verbal correspondence between them and what I imagine to be original Dorobo in the Kâmelilo dialect. It is, of course, possible that if the correct forms of Aramanik are obtained, the words will take a different appearance. But since all the Dorobo dialects, as now spoken, are based on Nandi—this was first shown by Hopley, who was a pioneer in this field, and whose vocabularies are fairly reliable—an enquirer would be well advised to learn something of Nandi before attempting the difficult study of Dorobo.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

England.

Adlard.

Winchcombe Church Porch Museum. *By Miss Eleanor M. Adlard.*

218

[Miss Adlard's description of Gloucestershire "Cornbabies," MAN, 1931, 5, having provoked enquiries about the Winchcombe Church Porch Museum, the Editor gladly publishes the following account of this commendable experiment.]

The formation of the Winchcombe Church Porch Museum began by our discovering there under the usual dirt and lumber the battered original font cover, pieces of fifteenth century oak carving from the lace work of the screen, a soap box full of fifteenth century church glass, a pewter christening-bowl, and other discards.

Next came the gift from a descendant of a past high bailiff, of a cardboard hat-box, stuffed with parish notices and affairs dating from the early part of the eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth. Amongst these papers was the parchment roll of local volunteers for the expected Napoleonic invasion, the spelling of *Lieutenant* being as baffling then as now—and many parliamentary notices promising "Reform" and "Retrenchment." One notice convened a meeting to discuss lighting the town with oil, naphtha, "or otherwise." In 1824, the "Rules of an Amicable Society" set out that members must have had cow-pox or small-pox before joining, and also thoughtfully allowed members 4d. each for beer if attending the funeral of a deceased member. Members of the "Dorcas Society" were liable to a 1s. fine if they introduced tale-bearing or even frivolous conversation into their meetings.

The next move was to obtain permission from the Vicar and Church Council to fit up the Parvise as a museum; then to clean and clear it and set up stout long tables, and show cases. These we were lucky to pick up from a chemist's shop sale; they are of mahogany with curved glass fronts.

The exhibits are limited strictly to things of local interest; but even so, after two years, the little room is becoming almost too full. The Trustees have power to move it all into larger quarters should it become necessary, but as long as the Parvise is used, the Church Council elects a small committee of management.

The trustees consist of the Archdeacon of Cheltenham, the Vicar of Winchcombe, a nominee of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society, and a member of my family. The Curator of the Cheltenham Museum is at present the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Trustee, and by his good offices the labels for each exhibit are in beautiful script with the donor's name, while full notes are kept in a catalogue, and acknowledged monthly in the parish magazine.

Amongst agricultural gear we have a complete breast-plough, a flail, a maul, a harvester's cider-keg, a shepherd's smock and crook, a digger, and the two straw "dolts" described in MAN, 1930, 122. We possess a complete set of Winchcombe medals, and eleven out of a possible eighteen tokens of the town. There are neolithics from Belas-Knap horned barrow, and local Roman finds. Modern life is represented by a case of 1914-18 papers and relics, of local interest, and a vellum book containing the names of all the Winchcombe men who fought. Recent notices and papers are kept in a portfolio.

The museum is kept locked, but on payment of a small sum a ticket of admission can be obtained from the Verger.

So much of the old hand-made gear is fast disappearing, often on the rubbish heap—for the poor have no room to preserve heirlooms and antiques—that this type of collection cannot be made too soon: it immediately forms a focus for parish history and is a source of great pride and general goodwill, as all can help and most people are interested. The important thing is to have its future safeguarded and not leave the museum to moulder away when the first enthusiasm has passed.

ELEANOR M. ADLARD.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Arabia.

Thomas.

Some Anthropological Observations on South Arabians. *Summary of a Communication presented by Bertram Thomas, 7th July 1931.* **219**

The tribes of Central South Arabia, Qara, Mahra, Shehera, Bautahara, Harasis, Barahama, Bil-Haf, Afar, Bait-ash-Shaikh—belong to types which are physically, culturally, linguistically distinct from the familiar longheaded, hawknosed Arab of North Arabia.

Fifty head measurements, taken with callipers, of the chief of these and other South Arabian (but Arabic speaking) tribes ranging from Aden to Oman, show them all to be brachycephalic. Brachycephaly is most marked in this group. The Arabic-speaking South Arabians, however, were also considered by Burton and General Maitland, a former British Political Resident at Aden, on the evidence of their experience and senses, to be racially distinct from the Northern Arab type. Maitland shared Bin Battuta's view of African affinities.

Speculations about origins had best be left to anthropologists. As regards the habitat, the mountains of the South would appear to form a natural asylum for aboriginals or early settlers fleeing before a northern invader: withdrawal from the plains may have come from a change of climatic conditions. Evidences of a pluvial period were present in deep gorges, of limestone fossils picked up on the edge of the sands a hundred miles north of the mountains, and by the discovery that the fauna specimens collected in Central South Arabia are essentially African.

The non-Arabic-speaking group are palpably different from all other Arabs to one who has lived for fifteen years in Mesopotamia, Transjordan and the Persian Gulf. They differ physically from the Northern Arab in being shorter, darker, more curly-head haired, less bearded chin and body hair: their heads are not only not dolio but abnormally brachycephalic and very small: they have no sinus development, and have for the most part pointed receding chins, though their jaws are square under the ears: and in certain tribes their facial features are Hamitic rather than Armenoid.

Their dress customs, circumcision and hair customs, exorcism ceremonies, death and disease sacrifices, and other animistic cults, also their social sanctions and laws of inheritance were enumerated. They are peculiar to Central South Arabia. Their languages (there are four) are Semitic, but not intelligible to the Northern Arab, and are in fact more akin to the Ethiopic Semitic languages than to Arabic.

BERTRAM THOMAS.

Early Man.

Open Public Lectures.

Early Man, His Origin, Development and Culture.

The Open Public Lectures, delivered on behalf of the Institute by **220**
Professor G. Elliot Smith, Sir Arthur Keith, Mr. M. C. Burkitt, Mr. H. J. E. Peake,

and Professor J. L. Myres, in the winter of 1929-30, have now been published in full, with many of the original illustrations.

Those whose sight is good will detect on the title page, in microscopic letters, an allusion to the occasion of these lectures. In some of the publisher's announcements there is no mention at all of the Institute's share in the preparation of the book. The explanation offered is not satisfactory; but the Institute has apparently no remedy under the terms of its agreement.

REVIEWS.

Africa, South.

Stayt.

The Bavenda. By H. A. Stayt. 221
London, 1931. Svo. Pp. xviii., 392.
With map and 48 illustrations. Price 30s.
net.

This excellent monograph is the outcome of three seasons' work among the Bavenda in the Northern Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia, the research being made possible by a studentship from Cambridge and grants from Capetown University. The author is himself South African born, and grew up among the people to whom he was later to return as a student of their culture. After being blinded in the Great War, he decided to devote himself to the study of anthropology.

The results of his labours are of great value to all students of culture. Of the tribes living in the Union of South Africa, the Bavenda are the latest arrivals from the North; and in their social organization and beliefs they differ in many respects from the other tribes of the Union. The tribe is composed of sibs and groups of unrelated peoples who became identified with an original nucleus, the ethnological origin of which is uncertain.

It is clear, however, that the Bavenda at the present day combine many features associated with the Hamitic culture of a pastoral people with the agricultural type of culture common to neighbouring Bantu. Thus, we are shown, they regard their cattle more as a source of wealth than as a means of livelihood. Cattle are occasionally eaten in the course of ritual meals.

They are used as payment in connection with espouses. Black oxen are sacrificed to the Deity, and in various connections regarded in a quasi-religious manner. Chiefs are buried in the cattle kraals. Cousin marriage is favoured, and this form of marriage is cheaper in terms of cattle than other forms of marriage. Serpents are associated with the fertility of cattle kraals. In all these respects, it may be of interest to point out, the customs of the Bavenda are similar to those of the Cow Fulani of West Africa.

It is claimed by the author's Prefactor, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, that the whole social organization of the Bavenda, as revealed

by Mr. Stayt, shows that they have a very advanced type of culture for an African people, and that unique for South Africa is the high position given to women in this society both in administration and religious ritual.

However this may be, the student of such West African tribes as the Jukun, Ashanti and Bakongo will note many close resemblances in these respects between the latter tribes and the Bavenda.

Another feature of Bavenda organization which is extremely interesting and important is the double system of kinship groups. A man belongs not only to a patrilineal lineage, but also to a matrilineal one. Here, again, it may be observed, we have almost an exact parallel to the state of affairs existing among the Jukun, Ashanti and Bakongo.

The importance to a Bavenda throughout life of his mother's maternal and his father's paternal kin is shown to be correlated with the physiological beliefs of the people respecting procreation and pregnancy, according to which certain parts of a child's body are thought to be built up by the male and others by the female alone. We are not told, however, as would appear *prima facie* probable, whether there is a related belief in the possession by each individual of more than one "soul"; and, if so, whether the "maternal" or "matter" soul is identified (as it is, for example, among the Kwottos of Nigeria) with the "kinetic power for good or evil" (see page 262) believed to reside in every object.

It would be interesting also to know the native term for this "kinetic power."

In the chapter relating to the kinship system two interesting points discussed are the reason why a man possesses the right in certain circumstances to marry his wife's brother's daughter (whom he subsequently hands over to his son), and, connected with this, why a man calls his sister's son by the same term which he applies to his grandchild. The particular theory selected by the author as the probable explanation of these customs does not impress the present reviewer so much as the alternative, which he rejects.

because the latter, and not the former, seems capable also of explaining why the Kwottos of Nigeria, who prohibit marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, nevertheless, habitually marry the mother's brother's wife, i.e., the father's wife's brother's wife (after the death of the mother's brother), and also classify the sister's son (man speaking) as a "grand-child."

Ancestor cults, divination, medicine, and magic are fully dealt with.

This book, as Mrs. Hoernlé remarks, fills us with profound respect for the courage and perseverance with which the author has accomplished his task and given us a picture of a South African tribe that can be put beside Dr. Gunod's account of the Ba Thonga of Portuguese East Africa.

J. R. WILSON-HAFFENDEN.

Germany: Anthropology.

Stammbaum und Artbild der Deutschen. By F. Kern. München: Lehmann. 1927.

Kern.

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It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the echoes of the War that sound through this book, typical of many that have appeared of late in Germany. There is no very special analysis or widespread system of measurement behind these works and they build upon the idea of the evolution of an Indo-Germanic race and civilization in North Central Europe in Neolithic times, as Kossinna has urged. Most students of archaeology think that Sophus Müller and Kjær are nearer the truth in considering the culture of the west Baltic of Neolithic times a fringing culture of the civilizations of south-west Asia, and so are not too disposed to think of that culture as the creation *in situ* of a Nordic race. But this is an ancient controversy which can be laid aside for the time being.

It may be of fresher interest to note that Kern gives a chapter to the Dalic race or type. He speaks of deep-set eyes and low orbits, of a broad lower jaw, long mouth-slit, and thin lips, of broad zygomatic arches first noted widely by Paudler and named by him from Dalarna in Sweden, where he thought the type was characteristic. He thought this type in the main a survival of the special Cro-Magnon type. Kern thinks the type fair, but prefers not to follow Paudler so far as to speak of grey eyes and red blond hair. The time for final establishment of this type is not yet. Much measurement will be needed for that purpose; but it is of interest to find that the Germans, like the Swedes, have turned to the idea of Palaeolithic survivals as a clue for the interpretation of race types amongst us.

H. J. F.

Europe: Ethnology.

Scheidt.

Die rassen Verhältnisse in Nord-europa. Von Walter Scheidt. 223

Sonderausgabe aus der Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, Bd. XXVIII. Pp. 197. Stuttgart, 1930. With 21 tables, 12 plates and 38 maps. Price 43 mks. unbound, 45 mks. bound.

In this memoir Professor Scheidt presents a new synthesis of the evidence bearing on the racial history and constitution of the so-called "nordic" peoples of Europe. The countries dealt with are the British Isles, Scandinavia, Iceland, Denmark, and the Faroe Islands. It is an elaborate work and the writer shows that he is intimately acquainted with the numerous sources given in the bibliography which appears to be nearly exhaustive. Anyone who has attempted to cover part of the same field will appreciate that many of the papers—and these not all early ones—are practically worthless. Like all modern and extensive enquiries into racial history, the present is essentially an anthropometric one. It deals with living and skeletal measurements and skin, hair and eye colours described with the aid of scales. The material dealt with is thus similar to that used by Ripley and Deniker, although it is now far more extensive in some directions than when they wrote, while more characters are now considered and the methods of analysis are more involved. Limitations of space forbid either a criticism of these statistical methods, or of the results derived with their aid. One matter of particular importance to English anthropologists may be dwelt on, however. For the countries considered, Professor Scheidt has found *useful* published data dealing with 79,891 men, 5,453 women and 4,727 skulls. He needed for his analysis series giving head measurements, stature and integumentary colours. For the south of England he was only able to collect such records relating to 337 men and 2 women, and for the north of England the available data relate to 93 men and 28 women. Larger numbers than these have been given for Wales, Scotland and Ireland, but the total for the British Isles is 4,249. It may be doubted, too, whether all the workers who have described this material employed methods of measurements which are uniform enough to justify exact comparisons. Thirty-eight loose maps comparing the average characters in different districts are appended to this work and eighteen of them are for the British Isles. A complicated system of colouring and shading is used which is designed to show at a glance whether the means for any two areas can be supposed to show a significant difference or not. The areas indicated are only those for which

data are available so that 99-hundredths of England is left blank, thus giving a far truer conception of the present state of our knowledge than that suggested by some writers who boldly fill up the whole of the country. But does the presentation of such inadequate material serve any really useful purpose? It is obvious, at least, that the collecting of more measurements would be of far more service than the detailed comparison of those already given. That this should be so is a standing reproach to English anthropology. The living population of our country has been less adequately described than that of any other in Western Europe, and it may be no exaggeration to say that there is no other area of the same size in Europe as a whole which has been so neglected. Owing to the labours of Lundborg and Linders, Arbo, Bryn and K. E. and A. Schreiner, Sweden and Norway can now claim that their peoples have been more comprehensively and exactly described than those of any other countries in the world and statistical methods, such as the ones employed here, may be applied to them with the hope of deducing permanently useful results.

G. M. M.

Polynesia: Sociology. Lehmann.

Die Polynesiischen Tabusitten. By Dr. 224
F. Rudolf Lehmann. Leipzig: (Voigt-
länder). 1930. Pp. 344.

The British, being adventurers, are pre-eminent in field-work, but have the limitations of adventurers. These limitations can be made good by German system and completeness. We must welcome therefore works which, like the present review of Polynesian taboo customs, abound in German qualities, even if it also suffers from the excess of these qualities. The conscientiousness with which he examines the trustworthiness of his sources is, perhaps, in part wasted, for it gives an impression that much which has little value is worth the trouble. I should have preferred to see him do for Polynesia what, for instance, Diels did for the pre-Socratics, namely to extract from Cook, Moerenhout, and others all the passages of real anthropological value, and thus save future generations the labour of finding the needle of custom in the haystack of geography. He has all the qualifications for such a work. In the same way he takes too seriously the wild etymologies with which books on Polynesia abound. He could have dismissed the lot with a footnote on the worst, Fornander's, to this effect: "Fornander's derivation of Hawaiian *kapu* from Sanskrit *cambhu* ignores the fact that the *k* was originally a *t*. It overlooks the cedilla under the *c*, which shows that it is not a *k* sound, but a palatal *c*. The present day spelling would be *sambha*. These are only two of many impossibilities. *Ab uno disce omnes.*"

The author classifies with German thoroughness all the different manifestations of taboo, and then produces illustrations in turn from

every group of Polynesia together with Fiji. In this way there is little that escapes his net. Yet the native conception of taboo emerges, if anything, less clearly than from the pages of Cook and other early navigators. The author is not satisfied with the rendering "holy" which is given by most authorities. In ascribing the meaning "holy" to the influence of Europeans he much overestimates their effect on the language. Besides we have plenty of pre-European expressions with which to check the meaning: thus in Fiji *saulambu*, the term for a chief's grave, does not mean "forbidden chief," but "holy chief," *wanga tambu* is not a "forbidden canoe," but a "sacred canoe," one in which the chief sails. *Wai tambu* is the equivalent of our Holywell, and so on. As a matter of fact the Melanesians, whom the author leaves aside, undoubtedly preserve the original better than the Polynesians, who were running the idea to death when the Europeans came on the scene, a sure sign of approaching decadence. Their abuse of the taboo is paralleled by the history of excommunication in the Middle Ages, or the auspices in Rome. It ended in discredit so that Kamohameha abolished it in Hawaii. If the Europeans have had any influence it is rather in secularizing the word as when a planter translates "Trespassers will be prosecuted," by "It is taboo to enter." In native usage there is always a ceremonial association. Feasts are religious ceremonies, offerings to the gods and chiefs; pigs and other produce wanted for the feast are tabooed, that is, dedicated to the superhuman being for whom they are intended. The author has not tried to discover what constitutes holiness. The conclusion my evidence leads me to is that it lies, or originally lay, in the presence of the god or spirit of the dead in the object. It is due to the defective nature of his authorities that our author misses the evidence on this point. The literature on Polynesia is largely of the old-fashioned kind which forces native customs into European categories. To talk of administrative, parliamentary, and diplomatic powers or to distinguish secular and religious, is to read European concepts into Polynesian society. Administration, as we understand it, was unknown till we introduced it. The sketches of Polynesian and Fijian society therefore sound unfamiliar to one who has lived in a village and noted the actual mechanism. This is especially the case on page 100, which is feudalism as a European conceives it. Wilkes' division of Fiji into seven districts is inaccurate, and ignores all the fine and fluid gradations that vary inter-tribal relations in Fiji. (Incidentally Muthuata, should be Mathuata, Somusomu Somosomu). The closest parallel to Fijian inter-tribal relations would be found in Homeric Greece.

It is unfair to blame the Fijian chiefs for the obscurity which hangs over Fijian society, and to suppose that the chiefs have forbidden their people to divulge much about their social structure (p. 100). I have never found more willing or enthusiastic informants; only to understand them you must work on concrete cases, just as in learning an unrecorded language you must note all the uses of a word till you have got the meaning; but it is more

difficult in the case of customs because their categories are so different from ours.

It is for lack of such a proceeding that some of the most fundamental customs associated with the Fijian status of *mbati* have been missed, and our author confuses them with *mbete*, priests (p. 99). For *ygali* read *igali*. *Hau* is not conqueror: the basic meaning is prosperity.

Appendix A is most useful to the comparative philologist; it has all the greater value as it gives the authorities. It is curious, however, that Rotuman *ha* (it should be *ha'a*) should be included: it has no etymological connection with *tapu*, but is the same as Samoan *ea*, which is rightly included in appendix B. Under Fiji the author gives both *tambu* and *tabu*, not realizing that in the official spelling *mb* is written *b*, but pronounced *mb*.

A very full bibliography and index contribute to make this work one of permanent value for reference, not only on taboo, but on Polynesian religion in general, and that is as much as to say Polynesian society. A. M. HOCART.

India.

Buchanan.

An Account of the District of Purnea 225 in 1809-10. By Francis Buchanan. Edited by V. H. Jackson, M.A., I.E.S. 9½ x 6½ in.; 2 maps. Patna, 1928.

When, in 1807, the Court of Directors of the H.E.I. Co. decided to have a detailed statistical survey made of the territories then forming the Presidency of Bengal, the officer selected for the task was Dr. Francis Buchanan, surgeon on the medical establishment in Bengal, who had acquired a very high reputation by the scientific researches he had already conducted in Burma, Mysore and Nepal. Comprehensive instructions were issued directing his inquiries to the topography, conditions of the people, religions, natural products, botany, agriculture, arts and commerce of the areas surveyed. Under all these heads elaborate statistics were collected, and in addition the geological features, archaeological remains, history and ethnography of the districts were systematically recorded. It was a vast programme, and it is probable, as his biographer, Sir David Prain, has stated, that no officer better qualified than Buchanan to undertake the task ever lived. His special qualifications were his remarkably wide scientific attainments, systematic and accurate methods of work, and untiring energy. From 1807 to 1814 Buchanan was continuously engaged on the survey, with practically no rest, till he was summoned to Calcutta to fill the place of the distinguished botanist, Dr. Roxburgh, as Superintendent of the Company's Botanic Garden. With his transfer the work of the survey ceased. Exhaustive reports, with appendices, tabular statements, plans and drawings were prepared in respect of each of the (then) districts surveyed. These, inclusive of three of the Journals kept by him, fill some 25 thick folio volumes of MS. in the India Office library. With the exception of that on the Dinajpur district, none of his reports were printed. Some nine years after his death, Mr. R. M. Martin examined the MSS. and, with the permission of the Directors, published such portions as he considered to be of interest

under the title of *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*, with his own name on the title page! During the last 30 years several officers serving in districts that had been surveyed by Buchanan had occasion to refer to the original MSS. and were impressed by the value of his work and the importance of publishing his reports *in extenso*. Largely owing to the advocacy of the late Mr. V. H. Jackson, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society undertook, with the assistance of the local Government and the sanction of the Secretary of State, to print in full those portions of the MSS. that related to the present province of Bihar and Orissa. The three Journals included in the MSS., which relate to the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and the Sontal Parganas, have already been published with introductions and notes. The present volume is the first of the *Reports* to be printed. It contains the complete text of Buchanan's Report on the area then (1809-10) included in the district of Purnea, which supplies much information of permanent value in regard to the topography, antiquities, races and castes, natural products and industries of the district. Buchanan's carefully drawn map, of special interest in view of the shifting of the river channels in this area, has been accurately reproduced.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Jackson's failing health prevented him from writing an introduction to the volume, or adding explanatory foot-notes, which would be of assistance in many places to readers not familiar with this part of India. Very full and useful indexes arranged under different headings, have been added by Dr. Banerji-Sastri. C. F. A. W. O.

Psycho-Analysis.

Róheim.

Animism, Magic and the Divine King. 226 By Géza Róheim, Ph.D. Pp. xviii, 300. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.

Just at the time that scientific anthropologists are becoming most critical of theories of primitive religion which define it in terms of -isms, and are even questioning the validity of such concepts as animism, totemism, mana and so forth, Dr. Róheim sets out to give us the psycho-analytic explanation of animism. The method is the familiar one of addition. An enormous number of facts are ruthlessly torn from their cultural context and herded into chapters, interpretations are given and theories put forward. It is soon apparent, however, that the theories are in no way dependent on the facts; the theories are taken from psycho-analysis, and the interpretations are dependent on the theories, not *vice versa*. The relation of both to the anthropological data is not quite clear, except that one must have something to interpret before one can give interpretations. The author does not try to justify his interpretations; apparently he does not consider it necessary, or perhaps he cannot conceive that their validity can be questioned. On page 128 a Batak myth is given a particular psycho-analytic interpretation which needs justification even to a psycho-analyst, but none is made though various other equally psycho-analytic alternative

interpretations might be put forward. This is only one out of many examples that might be mentioned.

Owing to this method of treatment the book is of little use to the anthropologist, except to let him know what Dr. Róheim thinks about animism, magic and divine kings. As an exposé as to what psycho-analysis has to contribute to anthropology, it is positively misleading. The author shows as little discrimination and sense of value in regard to psycho-analytic theory as to cultural facts. The most tentative as well as the most doubtful hypotheses are treated as though they were equally well-established theory as those most carefully or fully worked out. T. J. A. YATES.

Africa.

Seligman.

Races of Africa. By C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. (Home University Library). 227 London, 1930. 8vo. pp. 256.

This is a most useful summary of African ethnology, supplemented by maps of distribution of languages and geographical environment and a select list of books of reference. Since its publication a short list of errata has been issued, which it is

perhaps useful to reproduce here:—p. 63, l. 5, for "the Borgu, the Gurma" read "Gurunsi, Tem, Barba or Borgu"; p. 64, l. 9, for "Munuma" read "Nunuma"; p. 65, l. 2, bottom and p. 66, l. 1, read "In Sierra Leone and Liberia the Mende and Kpelle (Mandingo group) Temne, Bulom, Kissi and Cola are perhaps the most important tribes"; p. 66, l. 3 bottom, delete after "stocks" and substitute "To the Twi-Fante, generally called Akan, belong Ashanti, Safwe, Nkoranza, Adanse, Assini, Wassaw, Ahanta, Brong, etc., together with the Agni of the Ivory Coast. The Ewe family includes the Ewe proper of Togoland and the peoples of Southern Dahomey. Yoruba includes Nupe and Munshi (p. 82) while Bini and Efik-Ibibio stand outside these groups"; p. 102, l. 20, for "Egyptian" read "Arabic"; in p. 108, l. 8, for "Sheik" read "Sheikh"; p. 182, l. 4 bottom, for *omu-tile* read *omu-hle*; p. 183, l. 4, for *abu-tile* read *abu-hle*; p. 192, l. 19, for "Sekukimi" read "Sekukuni"; p. 219, l. 7, delete "(Bondei)"; p. 236, l. 13, for "Makrizi" read "Ibn Khaldūn."

That there should be so few is the best evidence of the care with which this book has been prepared. J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Papua.

Strong.

Carved Gopi Boards from Papua.

[cf. MAN, 1931, 60, Plate D.]

SIR,—On opening my copy of MAN for April 1931, it at once struck me that the figures portrayed on the Gopi Boards in Plate D were not pure native, and that they probably represent Europeans. The attitude of many of the figures seem to me far more European than native. The head dresses are quite different from anything I have seen in native art. They might, I think, quite well represent a European wearing a helmet with a large projecting portion over the face such as I remember a commandant of Police wearing about 1904. The feet of many of the figures seem to me to represent boots with rounded or square toes rather than the bare feet of natives. The top figures on Board 1 might quite well represent two Europeans boxing, fighting or merely arguing, and the lower figure, a man walking with a walking stick. On Board 2 at the top we have, perhaps, two more Europeans arguing; the next two figures suggest someone preaching, and the lower figure perhaps a village policeman trying to emphasize his orders by shaking a truncheon of the kind in use in the early days. On Board 3 the lower figure might be a man holding a cat, an animal often introduced into the villages. Board 4 might perhaps pass for native, were it not for the very square toes of one of the upper figures and the hat on the lower figure. If this figure is really wearing a hat it is surely drawn by someone quite unaccustomed to seeing a hat worn. The two figures below the tall figure with the square toes are worth noting. The foot to the right of the figure to the right does not show the square toes of most of the other figures—it may represent a native.

Perhaps one should also remember that, about the year 1900, stone clubs—certainly spurious, reached Europe, the head consisting of representations of animals heads. I think there is no doubt but that they were deliberately made by a man who traded in the district.

The Rev. J. H. Holmes in 1903 lived at Orokolo, just in the Elema-speaking districts and close to the Namaua Purari-speaking districts to the west. He had a Polynesian teacher in the Namaua-speaking village of Maipua. Boards 1 and 2 are unmistakably from this area and the snakes on Board 3 are quite similar to snakes on boards from this area. Board 4 seems to have little on it to indicate where it came from. One has to remember that the district under consideration first saw Europeans forty or fifty years ago. I visited it in 1905 when there was the missionary at Orokolo and various traders who visited at least as far as Orokolo and one who had been as far as Vainuru.

W. M. STRONG.

Lato Resident Magistrate and Anthropologist, Territory of Papua.

India.

Powell: Hocart.

Tukkam. [cf. MAN, 1927, 110.] 229

SIR,—I read a paper on "Hook-swinging" before the British Association, Anthropological Section, in 1913, printed in full in *Folklore*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, June, 1914. The rite as at that time (and even now) performed in Bengal was fully illustrated by photographs, described, and examined as to its origin and significance. My own interpretation, which, as far as I know, has not yet been questioned, was that in "Hook-swinging" we had a commuted or mild form of human (fertility) sacrifice of the Meriah type.

With my own photographs I included one taken from a set of mica paintings depicting the customs of the Madras Presidency at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Curiously enough, this seems to have a much closer resemblance to those of MAN, 1927, 110, than to my own Bengal photos, inasmuch as the victim is shown suspended in the same way as described in this article, and is armed with sword and shield. In Bengal the victim is somewhat differently suspended and is unarmed.

It would be interesting to know whether, in Ceylon, Tukkam is an ancient ceremony or one of recent introduction, also the racial affinities of the people who perform it.

Prima facie, and notwithstanding the alternative theories put forward, this article would appear to support my own theory of the origin and meaning of the rite.

But I hope we shall hear further from others on the subject. (Rev.) J. H. POWELL.

SIR,—A paper on Tukkam has been **230** erroneously published, MAN 1927, 110, under my name and erroneously located in Ceylon. Hook-swinging seems to be unknown in Ceylon even among the Tamils of the North.

The author propounds three theories, none of which seems to account for the whole ceremony. I should like to propound a fourth, namely, that it is a combination of the king's ordeal, flying through the air, fighting with demons, and deasil procession of victory. We might have to add marriage with the goddess, for the shrine is always that of a goddess. See my *Kingship*, Ch. VII, VIII and XIII.

For the deasil procession of victory compare Jataka I, p. 304, where a king after subduing rebels goes the deasil round his city before entering it with p. 313, where, after a similar victory, he bathes his head in a river, puts on all his ornaments and advances on an elephant's back.

Perhaps the author would kindly supply the following additional information in order to enable us to test this hypothesis. A photograph of the ceremonial dress so that we may see whether it is the dress of a king or god (the two do not differ in Indian art). Do the few armed people put up a sham fight for or against the hook-swinger? If for, then who are their supposed enemies? Do the fighters themselves represent any one? How are they attired? (a photograph would be useful). Are various duties assigned to various castes? Is there any ceremonial bathing or lustration of the head? Is there anything that might be taken to imply a union with the goddess?

For comparative study see Catlin, G., *O-kee-Pa*, p. 26; Macleod, W. C., *Hook-swinging in the Old World and in America*, *Anthropos*, 1931, p. 551. A. M. HOCART.

[These two letters appear to have been mislaid, and are published now with due apology. A correction of the authorship of MAN, 1927, 110, appeared in MAN, 1927. Corrígonda.—J. L. M.]

Africa, East.

Wilson.

Unusual Language and Physique in Tanganyika.

SIR,—On 29th June, 1931, I was at **231** Bugere (Kwa Han), Mbulu District, Tanganyika Territory, making enquiries with reference to the continuance of the safari.

Amongst those present was a Game-scout named Clou (the "C" is a click), generally spoken of as a Masai, but possibly one of the many varieties referred to Wandarobo. This man opened up a conversation in a language I have not heard before, certainly not Ki-bulu, in which three distinct "clicks" were used.

About the same time at Aiteho, a day's journey from here, I saw a most unusual type of native. He was about 5 feet 10 inches in height, fully 2 feet 6 inches across the shoulders, but the extraordinary thing about him was that not only was his face hairy, but also his arms, chest and back. He said he was a Mbulu, but he may have been a survival of the old Iraku or Sarawat.

G. E. H. WILSON.

District Surveyor, Tanganyika Territory.

Rhodesia.

Caton-Thompson.

The Zimbabwe Culture: Guesses and Facts.

SIR,—The reviewer of my book *The Zimbabwe Culture* (MAN, 1931, 172) raises the pertinent question, "It may be asked whether all this expenditure of money and labour was worth while. The reply depends upon the point of view." Amongst these, one, to my probably not unprejudiced eyes, seems dominant. **232**

Had the British Association's re-examination of the Rhodesian ruins not been performed, an error in date of between three and five thousand years would have passed into currency, and thrown back the whole question into the chaos from which Dr. Randall-MacIver rescued it in 1905. Dr. Frobenius' reiterated proclamation at the termination of his expedition's work, "I definitely believe that Zimbabwe had its origin between 4000 and 2000 years before Christ, and was the centre of a great mining colony which existed until 900 B.C." would, if unchecked by the relatively prosaic methods of archaeology, have been a prolific breeding-ground for additional errors. G. CATON-THOMPSON.

Bride-Price.

Raglan.

Alternative Terms for Bride-Price.

SIR,—If Mr. Cullen Young had appreciated the nature of my objection to the term "bride-wealth," he would not, I think, have accused me (in MAN, 1931, 201) of missing the point. **233**

The word "wealth," which is connected with "well, weal," originally signified the state of material prosperity in which those who find favour with the gods are supposed to live. This is clearly brought out in the Prayer Book. "In all time of our tribulation; in all time of our wealth..." Here "wealth" is contrasted with "tribulation," the state of discomfort in which those exist who have displeased the gods.

"Wealth" has now become nearly equivalent to "riches," though it has not acquired the latter's connotation with generosity or ostentation, as in the phrase "richly jewelled." "Wealth" has, however, never lost its connotation with prosperity. We do not say that a man is wealthy unless he is "well-off." We do not call a miser wealthy, or say that a man has left his wealth to a hospital. Similarly we cannot, if we wish to speak English, say that two African clans exchange wealth. That bad English can be a foundation for good science, is a doctrine to which I refuse to subscribe.

As regards "equilibrium guarantee," I should like to see Mr. Young explaining this term to a native of Nyasaland, and to point out the fallacy of supposing that people can have ideas for which they have no words.

I note with interest and satisfaction Mr. Huntingford's statement that the Nandi "definitely regard girls as a source of wealth," and wonder whether it will come as such a shock to Mr. Driberg as did the same phrase when applied by me to the Nilotic tribes (MAN, 1929, 142).

I should welcome the term "hedna" for bride-price, firstly, because it is short, convenient and apparently appropriate; and, secondly, because it emphasizes the essential similarity between the social system of ancient Greece and that of modern East Africa.

RAGLAN.

Bride-Price.

Driberg.

SIR,—The question of "bride-price" is a perennial one, and I do not propose to reopen the controversy. We are all agreed that the economic motive is not the basic idea of the institution and that therefore the term "bride-price" is unfortunate and very misleading to the general reader. We are not in such complete agreement as to the term which should be substituted and there is a number of candidates in the field. It is desirable, however, that we should come to some understanding, and I wish therefore to associate myself with those who are prepared to adopt Dr. Evans-Pritchard's suggestion "bride-wealth." This term, while admittedly cumbersome, certainly avoids the imputations which are levelled at "bride-price," and is sufficiently inclusive to embrace the general ideas underlying the institution.

J. H. DRIBERG.

Bride-Price.

Seligman.

SIR,—In MAN for September 1931 there are two communications (187, 199) concerning "bride-wealth." We write not so much to reassert our approval of this word as to emphasize our dissent from Mr. Huntingford's view that "a Greek or Latin technical word when applicable is more satisfactory than a made-up word," even, as it appears, when that word is formed on good English lines and is, e.g., comparable to "rain-maker." We hold strongly that although technical terms are necessary in anthropology, as in every other science, they should be introduced only when absolutely essential. Would Mr. Huntingford have us writing of pluvifactors or δμψφορμολ.

C. G. SELIGMAN.
B. Z. SELIGMAN.

Bride-Price.

Kohlbrugge.

SIR,—Would not the term "brido compensation" do as well as "equilibrium guarantee," proposed by T. Cullen Young in MAN, 1931, 201? KOHLBRUGGE. Utrecht University.

Photograph.

Thomas.

A Lost Photograph Identified.

SIR,—The block (MAN, 1931, 206) appears to be taken from a photograph submitted with my article on "A Somali Quiver" (MAN, 1922, 106), but not published. I remember it, however, in the proof sent to me; I remember also suspending the arrows like that when I photographed it; and the quiver closely resembles the object in the Cairo Museum.

ERNEST S. THOMAS.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Ireland: Palæolithic.

Whelan.

The Asturian Industry of Northern Ireland.

In a letter too long to print in full, Mr. G. Blako Whelan complains: (1) that in his paper in J.R.A.I., LX (1930), he did not compare with each other and does not regard as comparable the specimens selected to illustrate the letter of Messrs. Reid, Moir and Burchell (MAN, 1931, 177); (2) that his comparison of the implements of Northern Ireland was not with the "Asturian picks of Spain and Portugal," but with those of Portugal only. The Editor of MAN regrets that these two points should not have been verified in advance.

Britain: Palæolithic.

Reid Moir.

SIR,—In MAN, 1931, 188, the implement, Fig. 1 and 1a, was found by Mr. J. Solomon, and Fig. 2 and 2a by Mr. Guy Maynard. In the printed description the finders' names have somehow been transposed. The greatest length of Fig. 1, 1a, is 4½ inches, not 4¼. The abbreviations on the figures are as follows: ANT = anterior region; POST = posterior region; K = keel; RLS = right lateral surface; LLS = left lateral surface; DR = dorsal platform; VP = ventral platform.

J. REID MOIR.

[The Editor of MAN expresses his regret for this lapse; he thought that the abbreviations, "all of which, as is known, are part and parcel of the make-up of a rostro-carinate" (p. 193), were sufficiently explained in the text.]

Physiology.

Gaskell.

Physiological Paternity in the Trobriand Islands.

SIR,—In Mr. Rentoul's paper (MAN, 1931, 162) the alleged fact of certain females being "specially endowed" with "ejaculatory powers" is open to discussion. I have consulted many books on contraception and physiology, and find no mention of such a providential endowment for some women. Dr. Kisch, in his great book "Woman," says nothing about this alleged "gift." Dr. Marie Stopes, in "Contraception," describes all known methods, but nothing like this.

G. A. GASKELL.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

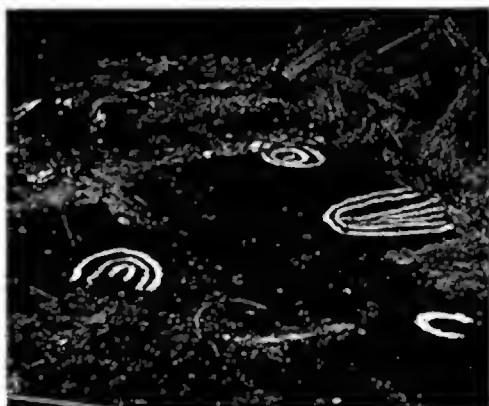


FIG. 6.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS FROM NORTHERN RHODESIA.

From photographs by Mr. W. E. M. Owen.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 241-260.

NOVEMBER, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Rhodesia.

With Plate L. 1-6.

Quick.

Rock Engravings from Northern Rhodesia. *Communicated by* **241**
G. Quick.

The following extract from a letter from Mr. G. Quick, of the London Mission, Mbereshi, Kawambwa, N. Rhodesia, is communicated by our Fellow, Professor H. J. Fleure :—

"The photographs from which Plate L, figures 1 to 6, were made were taken by Mr. W. E. M. Owen, Assistant Magistrate at Kawambwa, who first came across the markings in May last. He has done much travelling and exploring in this district, and was the first white man to discover the Kalombo Falls. He showed me these photographs when I passed through Kawambwa, thinking that I would be interested in them, as I was doing educational work at Mbereshi. Nos. 1 and 2 are general views, and Nos. 3 to 6 are more detailed.

"The markings are on the ground surface near the River Munwa, a westward tributary of the River Luapula. The spot is about four miles from the confluence of the two rivers. The markings are in a conglomerate, or incrustation, which is composed of much coarse sand and pebbles, sometimes four or five inches in diameter, and is at a height of about 200 feet above the River Munwa, which flows rapidly in the gorge beneath, and is very narrow, being only a few feet wide at this point.

"The white coloration is due to the native flour which was spread over so as to fill the marks (which, in parts, are an inch or so in depth, and much weather worn) in order to bring them out clearly in the photographs.

"The natives themselves knew nothing about these marks, as there are no villages near, and there is no way. A visitor passing through suggested that they may be drawings. It is not likely, however, that the natives of this part of the country have drawn them, even if they are drawings. Kazembe is the paramount chief, and his people are the Ba-Lunda, and the Kazembe village is near where it stood when David Livingstone passed through Kazembe's village. Even if they are drawings, they must be fairly old; and cannot possibly have been the effort of the local natives, who are among the most backward of all the peoples around.

"There are other markings—big feet-marks, so it has been said—on the ground beyond Kazembe's village, in the valley of the Nona. Few people ever go that way, as it is hilly and wild. The natives call these marks, 'the feet marks of the people who lived a very very long time ago.' There are also other marks near the River Lufubu, again about ten miles from Kazembe's village. It has been my intention to visit these places and take photographs, but I have not been able to do so yet."

G. QUICK.

N.B.—With the photographs were sent line drawings of some of the principal figures, entitled "Markings on Sandstone, Kaboronqeni Hill, Munwa River: $\frac{1}{10}$ actual size. 25.5.27. W. C. MacLalan." But beyond giving the scale, they do not add anything to the photographs: accordingly the long, narrow cross-lined figure in Plate L, 1 and 3, should be about 4 feet 2 inches long.

Africa, West: Ethnography.

Webster.

Customs and Beliefs of the Fulani: Notes collected during 24 Years' Residence in Northern Nigeria. *By G. W. Webster.* **242**

What the origin of the Fulani, or, as they call themselves, Fulbe (singular Pulo), may be seems very uncertain; certainly they are of white or partly white origin.

The settled Fulani are all Moslems and so affected by Islam and intermarriage with the surrounding tribes that little can be learned from them, while those who are still nomadic and preserve the old traditions and customs are shy and inaccessible.

Legends given by Moslems generally trace their descent to Okba bin Amir or Okba bin Nafi; those of the Nomads either to Ukuba, or Yakuba, who quarrelled with the Prophet King and went west to "Hakunde Maje" (between rivers), or to the river god—called variously Nu, Fu, or Nufu—who cohabited with a girl and begat a child. When the child was aged seven, he demanded to know who his father was. His mother took him to the river bank, to the spot where his father had disappeared. The father came out and ordered the boy to make seven bundles of firewood and then to set light to each one in turn, beginning in the east, but not to look round whatever he heard. The boy did so, and as he lit each fire cattle came out and gathered round it. When he reached the seventh, however, the noise was so great that he looked round, to see the queen of cattle and her court coming out of the water. They turned back, and that is why some white races are cattleless to-day. The god took the boy by the hand and led him inland, the cattle following. Finally, he made the boy light a fire, round which the cattle grouped. He then disappeared down a white ant-hill. To-day you can hear cattle snuffing at an ant-heap and calling "Nu! Nufu!"

There are many variants, but in all cases the cattle come from the water and are attracted by fire; indeed, if the kraal fire were not lighted, they would return thereto to-day.

I have been fortunate enough to know a few families whose boast was that they had never intermarried with the "black," and who, on the strength of my white blood, admitted me to some extent to their family life, so long as I was accompanied by no black. They were startlingly white in appearance and mentality. Slim, athletic figures with beautiful hands and feet, oval faces, and straight or slightly-wavy silken hair, in the case of the women often hanging well down the back—in one case below the knee—usually worn in three to six plaits but sometimes merely bundled up under a containing cap, or in one long plait wound round the head, held in place by a silver bodkin with a filagree head. The younger men wear the hair also in a series of plaits hanging down to the shoulders. Both sexes are not above adding combings or horsehair to their tresses to enhance their length. The men have straight or aquiline noses, or else noses resembling the rather bulbous type of the Scotch shepherd of the comic papers. The women either short, straight, or long and thin noses, often slightly tip-tilted. Lips well chiselled and fine, though in the women often spoilt, to our ideas, by tattooing of the lower lip to make it full and rather pendulous.

The ordinary dress for both sexes is a leather kilt, ornamented with tassels of cowry-shells or beads. It is frequently worked with a pattern which, I understand, is heraldic. The older men wear in addition a sleeveless shirt of white cloth, worn toga-wise, the women a cloth wrapped round the body to form a dress from arm-pit to calf.

The older men wear a Phrygian cap and a straw hat as a protection from rain or sun when travelling. Women are usually bareheaded, though they, too, use the straw hat. Boys and girls when herding cattle wear the kilt, a tanned skin

slung over the shoulders, and the straw hat. The girls, in addition, wear breast-plates of copper, silver, or even the homely calabash.

On holidays and festivals the kilts are often brightly coloured, and a cloth or leather jerkin may be worn by both boys and girls; the latter also wear a Zouave jacket of brightly embroidered cloth, and, if they possess them, a necklace of antique beads with many pendants. These beads, I think, are of Phœnician origin. Many of these Nomads are startlingly fair, notably the Kesu'en tribe, but others are quite dark.

To Captain Francis Rodd I owe the following description of Rahazawa at the Sharo dance, as seen on his journey through Air in 1922.

He tells me they are classed by the Tuarek as "Noble."

"Many were wearing the usual two black skins, but the dancing men were wearing pale blue and white skins over black loin-skirts with beautiful designs. Music included calabash cymbals or rattles, and long calabash horns (4 feet long); embroidered caps of peculiar shape were worn by Rahazawa. . . . Young girls wearing embroidered sleeved jumpers . . . men within call all had shaven heads . . . little hair on faces, and old men only scraggy beards. Beard hair wavy, not crisp. Men wore brass anklets and bangles, and stone rings on upper arms and bundles of usual bags of jujus, also trade-bead necklaces. Young girls did not wear ear-rings or anklets; some had forehead bands of sixpences or tin circles.

"The central part of the profile, i.e., nose and upper jaw, projecting; forehead and chin retreating, but chin, nevertheless, firm, well-cut and pointed. Full face, high cheek-bones and lower part of the face always triangular, the triangle having equal sides, or the sides running down to the chin being longer, never the upper sides longer.

"The ears are flat and the nose pointed but not straight, being sometimes snub and sometimes arched. One Jewish type of nose (other than the bulbous extremity), i.e., the best type of Jewish nose, is often seen. The whole cast of face is sometimes very Jewish, but never thick-lipped. The upper lip is usually short—many had the front teeth pushed forward. Two or three of the dancing men were in build and face exactly like women.

"The women are tall and wear their hair in plaits, one over each ear and one behind. Plaits four to five inches long, jet black and straight to wavy. . . . Women wear up to six brass ear-rings in each ear all the way from the lobe to the top of the ear, which is pierced. The rings are the size of a florin. They also wear anklets, with only one shift round the waist, with bare breasts."

Among most tribes the young unmarried men wear on ceremonial occasions the fillet of white fibre round the head.

The food of the true Nomad is chiefly milk, fresh or curdled, and cheese, ckd out with a little flour, and an occasional meat orgy when an animal is killed for sacrifice, or at a feast, or when one is dying. The milk is the property of the wife, who in turn provides the corn and all clothing for husband and children.

The utensils, i.e., the calabashes and pots, are scrupulously clean.

Weapons are the bow and arrow, spear, quarter-staff and short sword.

Every tribe has its chief or *ardo*, and every class of family its head, known as *ardo* or *jauro*. When in camp he is always at the entrance on the north, known as the *sengorde* (or happy place); on his right come his councillors and the wealthiest members of the community, the *seyobe* (lucky ones); opposite is the *yaworde* (lowly place), where are the less important members of the tribe; while on the east the *solo* (poor place), where are the huts of those who have no cattle but earn their living by herding those of others.

The chief chooses the camping places and performs all rites.

There is a trace of the age class. Great liberties are allowed between age mates. The term *saro 'am*—my equal in age—denotes close familiarity. Some say that sexual licence is allowed between age mates, but I think that this is doubtful, though possibly relations between a youth and an unmarried girl of his own age class would not cause much scandal. The talk of licence is, I think, due to a misunderstanding. There is no real marriage. The tie is loose and dissoluble by either party at any moment without any preamble or penalty. Marriage, as such, is, I think, not known. There is merely an agreement to cohabit. It is true that marriages are often arranged between cousins in infancy, or even before birth, and cousin marriages are preferred among many clans for reasons connected with property. Girls have certain privileges *vis-à-vis* their cousins, all of whom are prospective husbands. On attainment of puberty, however, the girl can make her own choice—preferably among cousins, or at least within the clan. But I do not think that there is any obstacle to her marrying any pure-bred nomad-man outside the clan should she so desire.

The consummation of marriages previously arranged usually takes place after the annual *sharo* or test of manhood, but marriages may take place at any time. Girls marry late, usually between eighteen and twenty-two. A girl often proposes by the simple method of stepping in front of the favoured one and so leading him into her camp. Should the man allow her to do so, he has accepted the proposal. I witnessed one marriage arranged by a young couple who had only met that day. The girl came into the camp, leading a youth by the hand. They passed us and went to her hut. Later they came up to us and the girl said: "I have found my man." Her parents said: "We see." I was asked to stay for the celebration, which consisted of killing a bullock and dancing and feasting till dawn. At any time the woman can simply walk out of her husband's house and go to another man.

I have only seen one genuine *sharo*. A ring was formed, the marriageable girls forming the inner and the rest of the clan the outer circle. In the centre stood the candidates. A name was called and one stepped forward and stood motionless, either with his hands clasped over his head or with a looking-glass in his left hand, while with his right he stroked his chin. Two testers, each armed with a tough branch of tamarind or the aerial root of a mahogany tree, then circled round the candidate, feinting at him, till suddenly one let a blow come home. The candidate must take these blows without so much as the flicker of an eyelid. Cruel blows they are, too, leaving great weals, or even open wounds. Accidental disembowelment has been known. In this test two failed. They were at once seized by the girls, their kilts torn off, girls' kilts substituted, and they were made to sit with the children.

In the evening there is dancing and feasting, and the young couples pair off. They may retire to a hut, or merely just beyond the firelight. It is said there is sexual licence on this occasion, but I think this is not so: this is marriage, not licence, and the couple continue to cohabit.

Among the Bebe Reuki I am told there was a custom of providing a distinguished stranger with a temporary wife. The girls would dance and the one who was awarded the prize became the wife of the guest, either for his stay or, should they so decide, for as long as they desired, even after his departure. The girl, by dancing her best, had shown the stranger had found favour in her eyes, so this was marriage—not prostitution.

Captain Brackenbury tells of public consummation described to him by a Yola man; but, though the Nomads are careless of privacy, I cannot get any information of such a ceremony.

Men can take black concubines. The offspring of such a union could only marry one of the same degree. In some tribes the sons are turned out of the camp before reaching puberty. A girl who married the biggest chief who was not as pure as she was would be an outcast for ever, but she could live with anyone of "white blood" and lose no caste.

I have known cases where women have refused to cohabit with their husbands because they had taken "black" concubines.

Children never address their father as "father," but by name or by some honorific, such as "old man." The mother is addressed as *in-na* (mother), *yaya* (elder sister), or by name.

Parents never speak of their firstborn son by name, but by a nickname or often the name *baba* (father).

Husbands and wives rarely call each other, or speak of each other by name. A woman should never speak to her husband's father. There is no dowry. Sons inherit from their fathers, daughters from the mothers. The father is the guardian of his children.

The only other ceremony in connection with youth I can trace is that of circumcision. Here, too, the candidate is shamed should he flinch; while, after the operation, the patients live for a time alone in a camp in the bush, where, I think, they receive some instruction from a tutor, but of this I am not sure.

Other festivals are the *wowo* or *shara* (torches or equals)—the Moslem Ashar. The day is spent in dancing, wrestling, boxing and quarter-staff play. At night the young men take torches and hurl fire-hardened pointed cornstalks or light sticks at each other, or even, on occasion, spears.

In addition to the *sharo* test of manhood mentioned above in connection with marriage, the following ceremony is stated to be practised by the Sisilbe clan.

Every autumn, all the young people of both sexes who were approaching puberty being gathered together, an ox was slaughtered and the meat placed on skewers round a huge bonfire. When it was cooked the elders drove the young people backwards and forwards through the fire till they had practically stamped it out, when they had to lie on their faces, with hands clasped behind their backs, and so eat the meat, the elders repeating: "We have given you our young; give them long life and prosperity."

The only dances I have seen, other than the girls' game, common also among other tribes, where the performer pirouettes and then falls back into the arms of her companion, are the *gerowal*, rather stately and quadrille-like, and variations of the *dabori*. In the latter dance, the performers are draped from head to foot and move either in a ghost-like crawl by muscular contractions of the feet, leaving snail-like tracks in the sand, or in undulating rapid movements, approaching and retiring. It is a dance of passion, beginning with the invitation and ending in disillusion. I have heard of ballet-like dances, but have not seen them. Captain Francis Rodd describes a dance which is really a play portraying the *sharo* and the feelings of the participants in dumb show.

It is difficult to ascertain the real truth as to the religion of the Nomads. They will reveal little, fearing lest the cattle or their guardian spirits should resent such revelations. The settled clans are all converts to Islam and mostly brought up by slave women, so that they know little even if they were willing to speak.

So far as I can gather, there are three high deities: Samba, Qumba his wife, and Yero their son. The latter is peculiarly the guardian of cattle.

Exactly who they are, I do not know. I can get no further than that Samba and Qumba are great names and that Yero has some connection with the moon or moonlight and/or the earth.

Although denied by some, I have no doubt that the sun and moon are among the higher deities. Witness such an invocation as: "I invoke the north, the east, the west, above, below, that which spends the day in travel and that which spends the night in travel, that which first sheltered and that which first showed the way out from shelter. Nought can touch me unless I enumerate the Moon and Sun; they can touch me."

Then there is Fu or Nufu, mentioned above as the ancestor of the race and giver of cattle.

The deities, however, are overshadowed by the spirits of the wild, jinns and other denizens of the half-world, to whom sacrifices are constantly made and incantations addressed. Such incantations are innumerable, being specially used to ward off dangers in camp or on a journey from malevolent spirits, human enemies, or wild beasts, or as cures for disease amongst cattle. I give a few in an appendix. A few invoke the aid of the benevolent powers.

The chief benevolent spirit is known as "Mallam Alhaji," a name of foreign origin. Another informant gave Musanga as head of the spirit world, with his wife Adama.

The principal spirits of the wild are given as Danga, Tonko, Alno Ka'ekade and Saigo—the last two being the "neck-twisters." Another sequence given was Buba, Jili, Nagyoro, Kasari, Banga-jaudi.

The principal female jinn is Zanzanna, always spoken of as Maimunata. Her son, Bi-Zanzanna, is also much feared. The spirit "Inna" (mother) is, I think, really the same as Qumba. The trouble is that the nomad will adopt any spirit he hears of, as it is better to propitiate false ones than be overwhelmed as a consequence of neglect to guard against some malevolent influence.

To all spirits occasional sacrifices are made, especially at the time of breaking up the rainy season camp. Usually, I think, the offering is a white bull to benevolent, a black to malevolent, and a black and white to female spirits. Red and white bulls, however, are also sometimes sacrificed. The birth of an animal of sacrificial colour is a matter for rejoicing.

No animal is ever sacrificed unless it has signified its consent. This is obtained by spreading a bed of leaves for the victim, or by placing a branch of tamarind on its back after it has lain down for the night. Should it be still sleeping on the bed, or should the branch be still on its back, it is sacrificed as soon as the herd has gone to pasture—usually on the site of the kraal fire—the blood and contents of the stomach being trodden in by the herd on return in the evening.

The yearly sacrifice that takes place at the removal from the summer camp to the winter pastures has a curious ritual which varies only slightly among different clans.

The usual entrance to the kraal is closed and a fresh opening made. In it are laid branches of certain trees, or the contents of the stomach of the sacrifice, and cattle and people must all pass out over these.

In addition to the sacrifices, the use of the forked stick (*suguhi* or *sar-kulli*) and of a cross (*buguwal*) for the protection of encampments is noteworthy. Others bury certain objects at the entrance to the kraal so that the cattle must cross them daily, both going out and returning. These talismans are known as veiling (*viringo*) or binding (*tigge*).

Every herd has a queen. She is known as mother of the herd, or as "avoider of difficulties" (*gose*). The office is usually hereditary. Her horns are anointed to increase the prosperity of the herd; her name is invoked at all sacrifices and at the lighting of the kraal fire.

Cattle are sacred: possibly they are even worshipped, but of this I am uncertain. As mentioned above, they were the gift of a river god.

To ward off the evil eye, the hands are clasped with the arms outstretched, and then the hands pulled apart with an outward and downward motion, palms downwards and fingers pointed widespread at the intruder, while at the same time spitting over the shoulder, or the hands may be kept clasped with fingers straight, making the multiple cross.

Spitting takes a prominent part in all spell-weaving. A man will spit when wishing a friend a safe journey, or spit on a stick, stone or rag and give it to him as a talisman.

While no significance attaches to the months, the days are looked on as personified. They are all brothers in pairs of twins, except Saturday, which is a stranger and outcast. Friday is the most honoured day. On Sunday and Monday medicines are best collected and taken, and charms made "whether for cattle or women." Monday also is shaving day. Wednesday is an unlucky day to start a journey or any enterprise: "on that day reptiles, bastards and other trash were created." Some say Friday is a good day to start a journey; others not. Saturday is unlucky: anything undertaken will end in disaster and, what is worse, the disasters will repeat themselves "like an onion."

The superstitions vary. Some say Saturday only is unlucky for starting an enterprise, and you can do anything except travel on any of the others, travelling being confined to Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, while others allow also Monday and Friday.

Some say no love affair will prosper except on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The one thing all agree on is that Sunday is the day for the gathering of herbs and preparations of medicines, love-philtres, etc., and that these should be drunk on Sunday and Monday, or only on Monday.

I cannot trace the original names of the days. Those in use are the Arabic ones, except the alternative for Friday (Maunde—the great one).

CHARMS AND INCANTATIONS, ETC.

1. Especially against lions and all dangers when travelling: "Mi humi Waila, Mi humi Funange, Mi humi Hirnange, Mi humi ko nyellata yahge, Mi humi ko yammata yahgo, Mi humi ko arta sorago, Mi humi ko banga soratal, Wala ko nemantam-mi se ko mi lasa, Leurue Nange, de memantam-mi."

"I invoke the North, the East, the West, that which spends the day in travel and that which spends the night. I invoke that which first sheltered and that which first showed the way out. Naught can touch me unless I enumerate the moon and sun. They can touch me."

2. Against hyenas:

"Aji wara, Aji waratta, Allah je gonga min je tombo. Ya nuhu, ya Allah Nuhu. Ya Funu Funange, pobbi nyamatta do."

"Aji cometh, Aji cometh not. God has truth, we but lies. Oh Nuhu! Oh God of Nih! Oh East of the rising sun! Hyenas eat not above."

3. Chiefly against the supernatural:

"Himi himi-mi.

"Tanko Ladde, Danga Ladde, Ladde toka Ladde. Adama, Samsami, Oso, Ginaje, Aino Ka'ekade, Wanado Saigo Kadaigo.

"Bakita! Bakata!! Bakat!!!"

"Tanko, spirit of the wild, Danga, spirit of the wild, Spirits of the Wild after spirits. Adama, Samsami, father-in-law of jinns, Aino, neck-twister, Destroyer Saigo Kadaigo.

"Fee! Fil Fo! Fum!"

"Toka Seri, toka se Seri go'o. Katammi Nange, Nange tori-mi; se nyande baba fudi luwal de memam mi. To inna am bosdi baba vumdi to lusuluru wadi nyeloma. Baba ladde Bakita! Bakata! Bakat."

"Follow Seri, follow only Seri. Consider (?) the sun—the sun, I implore. Not till the day the jackass grows horns shall they touch me, though mother be lame and father blind, though moonlight be as the day. Father of spirits.

"Fee! Fo! Fi! Fum!"

Chiefly for protection of the camp (*Lalalle*):

Take three black pots, each with three seeds of the *gaude* (a mistletoe) and bury them round the camp, saying:—

"Facha vumba. Lamdo Bumdo vahi puchu vumgu der lumu vumbe.

"Allah am yofu. Bumdo wawai hore mum/or

"Bumdo mematta goḍo do ko goḍo memam-mo."

"A blind libation.

"A blind king rode a blind horse through the market of the blind.

"God pardon, a blind man cannot look after himself, or a blind man injures no one, so why should anyone injure him?"

This charm is made stronger by proceeding to each corner of the camp and spitting. Others say the seeds should be made into a cross. In so doing the seed that lay to the East should be placed to the West and that that lay to the North to the South.

Another *Lalalle*.

Take three twigs of *gaude*, bore a hole through one and put the others in it, one on each side, then bury it in a pot with some gum, *kiria* twigs and *bause*.

Take a knife, face East, spit on the knife, then turn North, West and South, and so back East, spitting on the knife at each point. Hold the knife over your head and spit on it, near the ground and spit on it, finally wave it three times round your head and then plunge it into the ground, saying:

"In the name of God, God is true and his messenger is true. A blind king rode on a blind horse in a blind market. God forgive the blind. Who cannot master himself, can he master another? Dufu! Dufun!"

For increase of cattle:

Take 300 flying foxes, 7 *gumbi* seeds, 1 fig, 1 *kiria* seed, 5 *wa* flowers and filings from the silversmith and say:

"Vidi vidi saka Mumi Buju Boli Bunyan va'i risku, jaudi nai sak-a jaudi.

"Mi redi mi danyo mi danyi nyelohol. Fu risiko danyo."

"Bats follow demigods. Buju Boli Bunyan rides the steed of luck. Wealth in cattle follows wealth. I am pregnant. I bring forth. I bring forth a heifer. Every lucky one brings forth."

Then throw the flying foxes away and put the rest in milk or water, drink some and give some to the cattle every Sunday and Monday in the autumn.

A medicine for Black-quarter or Rinderpest:

On a Sunday take four twigs of mistletoe and four arrows. Have cut grass strown on the ground and let everyone bring a calabash full of milk and place it on the grass. Have the cattle and people drawn up in a square. Stand on the East and repeat an incantation calling on the *Ferobe* (benevolent jinns) and on *Bi Qumba* to help and on *Gampadali Dingadai* and *Gaunanga Ladde* to desist from troubling, ending by saying "till the river lacks sand." I could not get down the whole, as my informant could only get through it if unchecked and could not understand it himself.

Spit on the arrow, holding it first to the East, then West, North, South, up in the air and down below, swing it round your head and fire it away. Do the same on each side of the square. Repeat this with the twigs, throwing them away.

Each person then takes his calabash and as many bits of grass as he has cattle. Give it to the cattle to drink on Sunday and Monday.

G. W. WEBSTER.

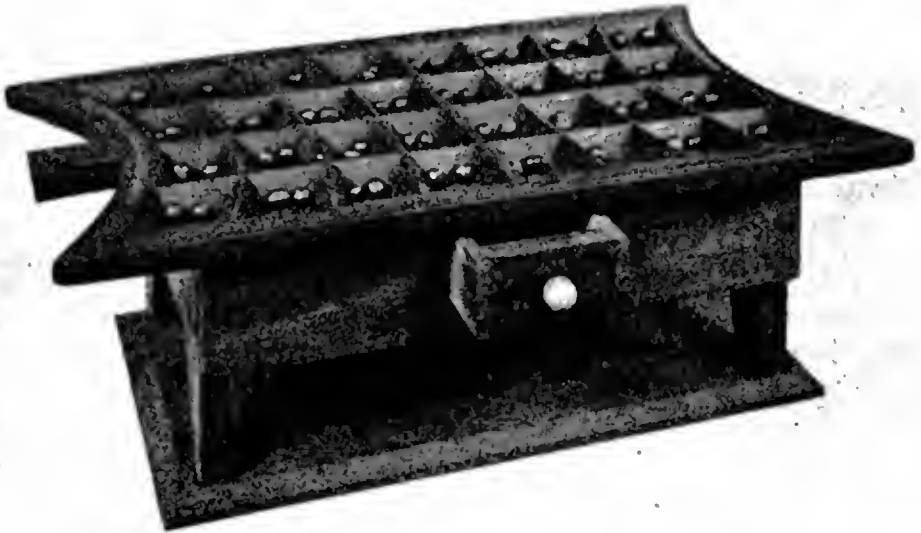
Africa, East.

Sheppard.

A Mweso Board from Mombasa. By T. Sheppard, B.Sc., Director of
the Hull Municipal Museums.

243

The gaming-board, of which a photograph is appended, was presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Mombasa. The gaming-board itself closely resembles the specimen from Uganda figured in MAN, 1931, 131, Plate D.2; but it is supported on a four-legged table containing a drawer for the counters.



A GAMING-BOARD IN THE HULL MUNICIPAL MUSEUMS.

This example, through the courtesy of His Royal Highness, is now exhibited, with many other specimens, in the ethnographical section of the Hull Municipal Museums.

T. SHEPPARD.

Religion.

Gordon.

The Mistress of the Bottle: A Query. By Captain D. H. Gordon,
D.S.O.

244

Webster,* in his dispute with Glanvil on the subject of the nature of witchcraft, makes the following statement:—"But what is to be understood by Python, or "the spirit of Python, is as difficult to find out as the meaning of the Hebrew "word Ob, because it must be digged forth from the rubbish of Greek lies." He then proceeds to trace the word Python to the dragon slain by Apollo, who added the name to his own in the form of Pythius Apollo to celebrate the deed, and affirms that any oracles or expounders of oracles associated with Apollo took that name. Further, he states, in connection with the Witch of Endor, that the words "Bagnalath "Ob" mean the Mistress of the Bottle, and that it was by means of some form of jar or bottle that she produced her oracular answers. This he supports with a quotation from Chronicles,† in which he points out that the correct translation of the passage is that Manasses made or set up Ob or Pytho, that is, oracles.

Glanvil,‡ however, adduces many arguments to show that this Ob is not a material bottle, or a human oracle, but the familiar spirit by which the oracle was

* Webster: *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*. 1677. P. 120 and pp. 128-133.

† 2 Chronicles, xxxiii, 6.

‡ Glanvil: *Sadducismus Triumphatus*. 1726. 4th Ed. Pp. 16-25.

possessed, and quotes Saul as saying to the Witch of Endor: "I pray, thee divine unto me (Be Obh) by the familiar spirit." He does not, however, disagree with Ob being translated as Python. It was while reading the above that I recollected having met the words Ob and Python under somewhat different circumstances.

John Fellows, in his book "Mysteries of Freemasonry," quotes the Abbé Pluche as follows:—"They (the ancient Egyptians) painted the devastation made by the overflowing water (of the Nile) under the figure of a dragon, of a crocodile, a hippopotamus, or a water monster which they called Ob, that is, *swelling*, overflowing, and which they afterwards called Python, the enemy."

Now Webster, curiously enough, in connection with Ob, quotes Schindlerus as saying: "From thence it seemeth to be called אֹב (Obh) Pytho because those that had it, or were possessed by it, being puffed up with wind did *swell* like blown bladders."

Fellows goes on to say that the Canopic Jars were originally jars of three sizes set out to show the increase or diminution of the Nile, and traces their name from Canob, and translates it without any quoted authority or reference as "The Fathom of the Dragon."

Here we find Ob, the bottle or familiar spirit, as the case may be, connected with the word Python, and the word Ob, the dragon, or overflowing, also connected with Python. Also, we find Python the oracle, and Python the dragon, both connected with Apollo. To make things more involved still the word can-ob, meaning the canopic jars, might just as well mean "the Fathom of the jar or bottle."

The word *ob* is also suggested as being related to the West African and West Indian Obi and Obi man, the man who bewitches by means of his *obi*, or familiar spirit.

In the East also a witch is often depicted as riding on a jar. From the "Arabian Nights" we get instances. In the story of The Goldsmith and the Cashmere Singing Girl,* the goldsmith says: "But as I lay betwixt sleep and wake, behold I saw four women come up—one riding on a broomstick, another on a wine jar, a third on an oven peel, and a fourth on a black bitch—and I knew they were witches making for thy city." And in the story of Hassan of Bassorah† it says: "They fared forth and found her riding on a Greek jar of red earthenware with a rope of palm fibres about its neck."

Now it would appear that the ideas of the dragon, the bottle, and the familiar spirit of oracles, witches and witch doctors are a trifle involved.

What I wish to know is, have Python the oracle and Python the dragon, connected by various authors, the former with Ob the familiar spirit, the latter with Ob or Obi, the familiar of the Obi man, any connection with one another? And has Ob the bottle any connection with the Canopic Jars, or can it be associated in any particular sense with Eastern witches in general? And is there any significance in the fact that while Ob the familiar spirit causes a swelling of the body Ob the dragon signifies a swelling of the waters? It seems unlikely that this can only be a set of coincidences built up by ignorance—in all probability my ignorance—of etymology.

D. H. GORDON.

Britain: Ethnology.

Lethbridge.

A Note on the Distribution of Romano-British and Saxon Elements of Population in Britain in the Sixth Century. By **245**
T. C. Lethbridge.

It is obvious now to any student of the Anglo-Saxon conquest and settlement that the old idea of the complete extermination of the Romano-Britons by the invaders is no longer credible. No doubt great numbers must have been

* *The Thousand Nights*. Burton's Trans. Vol. V.

† Burton: *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI.

destroyed especially in the country bordering the Fens where the full force of the invasion seems to have been felt, but an infinitely greater number probably survived. The pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries plotted on a map (e.g., Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," IV, Map 5) must surely give us a fair idea of the amount of country held by the invaders after the first great upheaval was over. It will be at once noticed that the Saxons occupied the whole of the comparatively flat central belt from Cambridgeshire to the Upper Thames. Mr. E. T. Leeds has drawn attention to this in "History," Vol. X (1925), p. 97, where he has made a very strong case for his theory that the invaders penetrated the country by means of the Wash and Icknield Way. The fact that does not seem to have been adequately stressed, however, is that the country not occupied by these settlements was presumably still in the hands of the Britons. Except for the late burial at Wheathampstead and the bodies of "saints" dug up in the twelfth century at Redbourne the Saxons do not seem to have got a footing in the Chilterns or the country to the east of them at all. Much the same thing seems to be true of the Cotswolds. (The term Saxon is here used deliberately for I am not discussing the Angles in this note.) We get historical confirmation of this from the fact that Bishop Germanus was able to visit Verulamium in 429 and again in 460 and the country is described as comparatively wealthy. We need not worry about the whereabouts of the site of the "Hallelujah Victory," although the description might well fit the valley of the Thames at, say, Goring. Let us imagine the Saxons, who coming from a flat country were quite unaccustomed to either cultivation or warfare in broken hilly ground, occupying the country all round the Upper Thames and the comparatively flat belt which extends north-eastwards into East Anglia right away to Barrington in Cambridgeshire. Their numbers cannot have been very great, and when they had tried to force their way westward, they had been soundly beaten at Mons Badonicus by Arthur. It is remarkable that although the historians have frequently tried to make Badbury Rings in Dorset the site of this battle, and have even tried Bath, yet they seem to have avoided a much more suitable Badbury Hill at Faringdon, between Swindon and Oxford. This is not the place to speculate on Arthur and his wars, but it must surely be more than a coincidence that at the mouth of the Glyme or Glein, with Akeman Street running through it, with the Wychwood Pass behind it and with Eynsham Park adjoining it, one finds the Grims Ditch which was the subject of Mr. Crawford's paper in "Antiquity," IV. Arthur's first battle was at the mouth of the Glyme or Glem, Cuthwulf took Eynsham after the Battle of Bedcanford; every large travelling earthwork that has been excavated seems to belong to the period of the post-Roman wars; Bokerly Dyke, Wansdyke, Offa's Dyke, the Cambridgeshire Dykes.

Some fifty years or so after Mons Badonicus the Saxons began to advance again. If we judge from the mongrel names of their leaders a certain amount of intermarriage with the Britons had already taken place. Probably the Britons were the aggressors, otherwise it is hard to account for the Saxon names of the places which fell as the result of Cuthwulf's victory at Bedcanford in 571. One place is not identified, but may be Lembury, in the Luton pass; the others are Aylesbury, Benson and Eynsham. Dykes behind Aylesbury and Benson, facing into the Chiltern country, must surely be connected with this phase of the conquest. Probably the Chilternseattas now began to filter through, and such burials as the one at Wheathampstead were made. A few years later the Gewissac ("Confederates": did this include Britons from behind the Chilterns?) under Ceawlin (with a Celtic name) pushed westward along Akeman Street and smashed a British army at Dyrham north of Bath, which with Cirencester and Gloucester fell at once to the victors.

Mr. Leeds has shown how Wansdyke and Bokerly Dyke now played their part in a vain attempt to keep the Saxons from penetrating to the south and west. But

the object of this note is not so much to speculate on the varying fortunes of these long-forgotten wars, as to draw attention to the fact that we may reasonably expect to find marked traces of Romano-British survivals in the country screened by the Chilterns and by the Cotswolds also. There must be a considerable amount of archaeological material from these areas, at the moment classified as fourth century or so, which in reality belonged to the fifth or sixth centuries. The bronze hanging-bowls with enamelled escutcheons, found in very late Saxon burials, at once occur to one as being later examples of British workmanship, but at the moment there is little else. When it is remembered that the Britons were apparently the owners of the whole of Wales, the West Country and much of Wiltshire, Dorset and Hampshire to say nothing of the North of England it seems most probable that the chronology of our late Romano-British material needs considerable revision.

T. C. LETHBRIDGE.

Africa, West.

Ling Roth.

Unglazed Pottery from Abeokuta. *By the late H. Ling Roth.*

246

We do not usually find West African pottery well represented, even if at all, in our museums; the reason for this probably lies in the fact that the pots are too brittle to bear transport. Some twenty years ago* Sir Ralph Moor, Consul-General at Warri, kindly sent me a caseful of local made pots, but on arrival the case contained nothing but dust, and it was not possible to put two sherds together. In 1906 Mr. Cyril Punch, then resident at Abeokuta, was good enough to send me a consignment, and although well packed, there were only five pieces found to be whole on arrival. However, I was able to piece together the greater part of the bulk. They are now cased in Bankfield Museum, and form the subject of this note.

Mr. Punch says: "The Ijayi tribe are the principal tribe in Abeokuta, who are the skilled clayworkers, but it is said the Ijeshi tribe are able to produce a better kind of plate and bowl of a terra-cotta colour used in the mosques. The terra-cotta colour is said to be produced by mixing powdered potsherds with the new clay; at the same time as obtaining the red colour, greater durability and strength are gained.

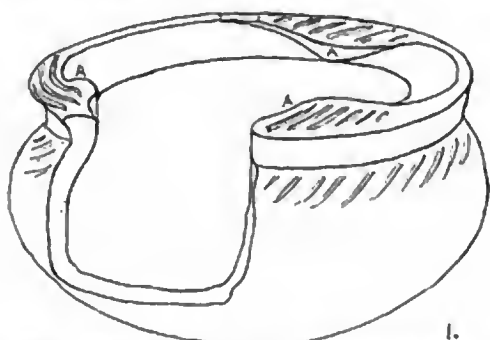
"There are two kinds of coloured clays in use. The one almost universally used at Abeokuta is brown in colour, with a considerable quantity of broken-down mica in it, which is seen in the burnt pot. The other clay is slaty and lighter coloured, but it is not common and not specially in request, and is as a fact mostly mixed with the first-named clay. The clay beds are surface beds and not deep; a sort of felspathic rock lies below. The land outside the walls of the town is simply pitted with holes from which the clay has been gotten.

"The black colour is obtained from an infusion of a common shrub named *Ira* (*Bridelia micrantha*), the infusion being obtained by pounding the bark in water. This infusion, which is red, is painted on the earthenware as it comes hot from the firing, and darkens, owing probably to oxidation. It takes a fair polish. It is, perhaps, the mica which helps to give the black colour a bronze tint. It is also probable that some of the black colour is obtained by rubbing with the leaves of the *Moringa pterygosperma*."

The pots are fairly regular in shape, considering they are made solely by hand; and, of course, without any turntable.

There are two illuminating papers on the manufacture of pottery in Nigeria in MAN, 1910, 53 and 57. None of the Bankfield pots seem to correspond in form with the

* This communication was itself written some years before the author's death; and from the context it would appear that "twenty years ago" indicates a date earlier than 1906. [Ed. MAN.]



1.

ROUGH DARK BROWN. FIRE IS PLACED INSIDE + THE COOKING POT RESTS ON THE THREE LUGS AAA. IT IS MUCH USED IN CANNED + ALSO HOUSES. DIA. 24 CM. HT. 14.5 CM.



2.

ROUGH DARK BROWN. BRONZE TINT. D. 19 CM. HT. 7.5.



3.

TERRA COTTA COOKING-POT. RING SUPPORT. DARK BROWN. BRONZE TINT. P.O.D. DIA. 19.5 CM. HT. 16 CM.



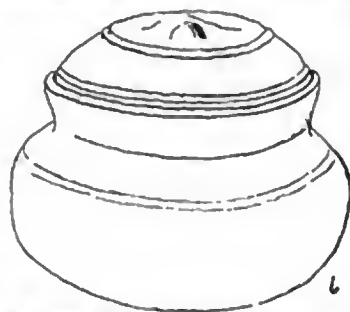
4.

LID. VARIOUS SIZES.



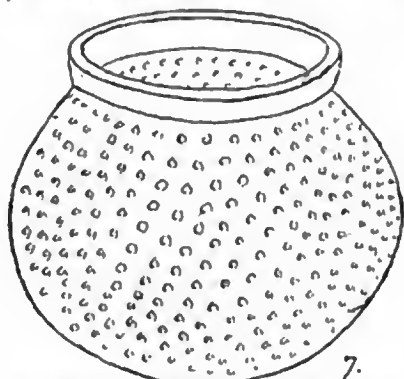
5.

DIA. 9 CM. HT. 8 CM.



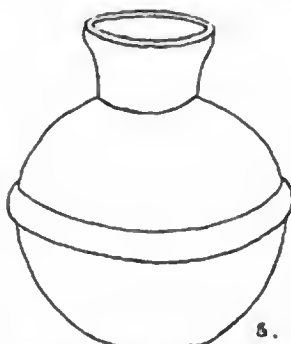
6.

DARK BROWN POT. BRONZE TINT. PALM-OIL "CHOP" IS PREPARED IN THIS. D. 16.5 CM. HT. 12.5 CM.



7.

ROUGH LIGHT BROWN PERFORATED POT. MEAT OR FISH IS PLACED INSIDE + THE WHOLE PLACED OVER A SMOKY FIRE. DIA. 13 CM. HT. 16 CM.



8.

TERRA COTTA WATERPOTS. HT. 17 AND 16 CM.



9.



10.

ROUGH LIGHT BROWN D. 20.5. HT. 16.5



11.

DARK BROWN. DIA. 9.5 HT. 4 CM.



12.

TERRA COTTA LAMPS D. 8-11.5 CM. HT. 4-7 CM.



13.

BROWN DISH FOR GENERAL USE DIA. 25.5 CM.



14.

CONDIMENT POT. D. 4.5 HT. 5 CM.

illustrations in Thomas's paper (53 Pl. G.), but No. 8 of Bankfield seems to correspond in shape with No. 5 of Tremaine's (MAN X. 57). Especially interesting is the firepot No. 1, on account of its cut-away portion, which with its three lugs makes it into a portable fireplace. The form of No. 3 is likewise out of the common; the ring support, which is repeated in the lamps, would appear to indicate European influence. The idea of perforating a pot, as in No. 7, in which to smoke food, is ingenious, and the ribs on No. 9 require explanation. It would be interesting to trace the provenance of some of these forms, but for that I have not the material.

H. LING ROTH.

Britain : Palæolithic.

Clark : Binnall.

Note on Two Flints from Hastings. By J. G. D. Clark and Rev. R. Binnall.

247

In the collection of the Rev. R. Binnall, of Manton Rectory, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincs., is a series of flints found on the surface of cultivated land in the neighbourhood of Fairlight, Hastings; among these are the two implements illustrated. Fig. 1 shows a fine example of a transverse arrowhead, a type not very common in this country and new to the Hastings area. The flint is of a semi-translucent nature, shows no trace of patina, and has a highly glossy surface. The edge shows a few recent fractures. Traces of the lower layer of the cortex are indicated by stippling.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

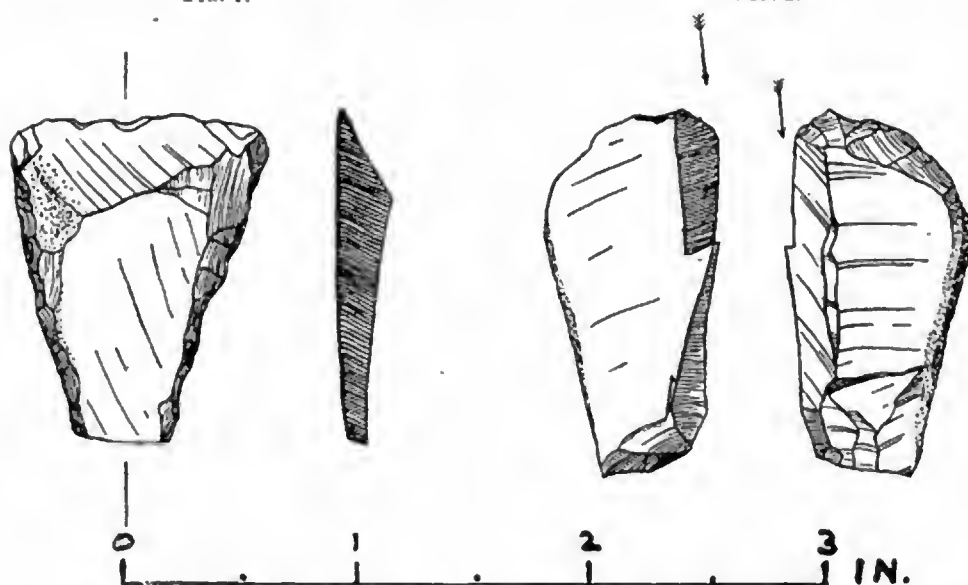


Fig. 2 is of wider interest, as it represents what is quite evidently a screw-driver burin of convex oblique-angled type. The flint was originally of pale grey colour, but has since patinated to a pale blue; the process of patination has penetrated only skin-deep. The slight notch seen near the junction of the graver facet and the trimmed edge is recent. The graver facet is patinated to a degree identical with the rest of the flake. A few of the flakes in Mr. Binnall's series from the same area show a similar patina, and some of these have from the condition of the cortex been derived from the beach. The discovery of flints of undoubted upper palæolithic type, such as the burin, on the surface is becoming increasingly common with the diffusion of typological knowledge. It seems important that such finds should be recorded as it raises an important problem.

J. G. D. CLARK : R. BINNALL.

Africa, South : Sociology.

Brownlee.

The Circumcision Ceremony in Fingoland, Transkeian Territories, South Africa. *By Frank Brownlee.***248**

By arrangement with the head of the kraal concerned, I was present at a circumcision ceremony at Bawa, Butterworth district, on the 16th and 17th August, 1927. I am thus able to record the following facts which then came under my personal notice.

Shortly before sunset a concourse of people gathered in the location and proceeded to the kraals where the two boys to be circumcised had been placed for the time being. The ceremony of collecting the boys is called "u-Mguyo," the same term being applied to the ceremonial dances connected with the assembling of impis prior to their going to war.

The boys having been received, the people proceeded to escort them to the kraal of the father of one of them, a man of some position in the location. The boys were surrounded by those who were more or less of their own age, the next in proximity being the men; the women remained on the outskirts of the throng, dancing and crying out with shrill, quavering calls, trailing their blankets on the ground. The men chanted. The younger men from time to time dashed out of the crowd, prancing, gesticulating in fighting attitudes and engaging in sham fights, so that there was a medley of sounds which blending were not inharmonious—the shrill cries of the women mellowed by the bass chant of the men, punctuated by the clatter of the sticks of the sham fighters.

On arrival at the kraal of ———, where the ceremonials were to take place, the boys were escorted to a hut, where they were placed for the time being. The male portion of the escort meantime adjourned to the cattle kraal, where the older men sat down on the right, inside the gate, while the younger men and boys took up a position on the left. Meat was cooking in pots in the centre of the kraal.

After an interval the boys to be circumcised were escorted to the gate of the kraal amid much prancing, dancing and singing. By the time they arrived at the gate a number of the older men had placed themselves before the entrance, barring the progress of the boys, singing the while to this effect:—

Who are these

That seek to enter manhood?

Who are these

That seek to enter the kingdom of the men?

After dancing for a while, the boys dodged between the men who had been barring their way and entered the kraal, where they took up a position on the left-hand side. The novitiates were clad in sheepskin *karosses*, which were worn in such a way as to cover their heads as well as their bodies. After entering the kraal they discarded the sheep skins, and danced before the company quite naked, except for streamers made of long strips of sheep skin tied at their knees and elbows. I cannot say more of their motions in dancing than that they were suggestive of procreative ability; this idea, indeed, might be applied to the movements of all the dancers, male and female, throughout the ceremony. After dancing on the left side of the kraal, the candidates moved to the right side and danced before the older men, and while dancing they were anointed with a frothy emulsion which was poured over their heads and which trickled down their bodies. The anointing was performed by a "doctor" specially engaged for the purpose. I gathered that the root of the *Agapanthus* was one of the "medicines" in the liquid used for anointment. It is in common use for medicated baths, and is one of the several medicinal plants known as "i-Sicakati."

The boys continued to dance for a while, and then returned to the left side of the kraal, where they sat down, after which meat was distributed to all the

principal people, who from their portion gave a share to those subordinate to them in rank. This applied also to myself; a liberal portion was laid before me, an aloe leaf serving for a plate. After partaking of some, I handed the remainder to those considered to be in attendance upon me.

All this while the women sang and danced near the kraal gate, and from time to time pieces of meat were taken out to them, being received with such remarks as "Who has honoured me with this mark of favour?" "To whom am I indebted for this attention?" This appeared to be a symbolic means of establishing relations between the males within and the females without the kraal, and, I was informed, it might lead to intercourse if suitable opportunity offered. The cautious husband would keep careful watch upon his wife to see from whom she received a "favour." No meat was given to the boys, who were not permitted to eat meat from mid-day that day until after they had been circumcised next day.

After the meat had been eaten, the boys were escorted back to the hut from whence they had last come, and from there to the *isutu* hut—the place of seclusion—a small, beehive-shaped hut, made of grass and saplings.

At this stage there was a lull in the proceedings, it being now dusk.

Later on in the evening I returned to the kraal and, proceeding to the *isutu*, found the boys and their attendants fast asleep, apparently tired out after the afternoon's exertions. I then went to the hut where the "surgeon" was lodged for the night, and, after being granted permission, entered. The surgeon was lying on a grass mat next the wall on the right side of the entrance, and next to him on the same mat lay his attendant, an elderly man who stood for a barrier between the surgeon and all contaminating influences and as a guard over his actions. The surgeon was to be kept pure; he was not to come in contact with women; he was not to have beer, and he was expected not to smoke. He was to fast until he had performed the operation of circumcision. The attendant was the curtain which cut him off from such things as were liable to defile him.

It may here be mentioned that, in the case of a death in a hut, the body is placed on the right side of the hut next the wall, and is curtained off with a suspended mat or blanket, so that persons entering the hut may not be rendered unclean by their proximity to the corpse.

The surgeon, after cautious and diplomatic suggestion thereto, showed me the lance with which the operation was to be performed. It was the blade of an assegai, the shaft of which had been replaced by a wooden handle. The blade was razor sharp, and was carefully wrapped in a bandage and carried in a leathern sheath. I was told that this instrument had been preserved from ancient times, and used from year to year as occasion required. Its well-worn shape and the reverent manner in which it was handled went to confirm the statement that it, along with the office of surgeon, had been handed down from father to son in many generations.

As the people appeared to desire rest, I had to cut my enquiries short and withdrew, understanding that the circumcision would take place at sunrise the following morning.

At dawn next day people were already making their way towards the kraal. As red showed prior to the sun's rising, a herd of cattle with an ample escort was driven towards the cattle kraal. As they approached, the women rushed out and, with shrill cries, dancing and trailing of blankets, ran round about the cattle at a respectful distance. The cattle were driven into the kraal, and the boys, who had meantime been brought back from the *sutu* to the hut in which they had been the previous afternoon, were escorted to the gate of the cattle kraal, where the men formed a half-circle round the gate, with the boys facing the gate. The cattle were driven out of the kraal towards the boys, where they stood with their

heads down, facing the boys. At a signal, the half circle changed its direction and faced the *sutu*, some five hundred yards distant. The cattle being driven and leading, all the men proceeded in that direction. Arrived at the *sutu*, the boys entered with the surgeon and his attendant. After a moment's interval they all reappeared, the surgeon and his attendant naked except for their charms and bead ornaments, the boys clad in their sheep skins. The boys sat down with their backs to the hut, facing the east and the sun, which was just then rising; a point of their *karosses* was drawn forward between their legs and spread flat on the ground. The surgeon immediately proceeded with his work. The operation took an instant: the foreskin, being extended to its full length beyond the *glans penis*, was removed with one deft stroke of the assegai blade. Bleeding was not profuse, and the little that flowed dropped on to the sheep skins, where sand was thrown upon it to dry it up. At the moment the act of circumcision began, a man fired a shot from a gun. This, I venture to state, corresponds with the practice prevalent among some tribes of raising a great shout as the circumcision is performed, acclaiming the act of initiation, at the same time distracting the attention of the boys and serving to drown the possible cries of the less hardy of the initiates.

Directly the operation had been completed, the surgeon and his attendant proceeded to dress the wounded parts with healing plants which had been placed in readiness. Next the wound were placed leaves of *isicwe* (*Helichrysum pedunculare*). This leaf has a white woolly surface underneath, and would probably act as an absorbent. Outside the *isicwe* leaves were placed thin sections of the bulb known as *incwadi* (*Cyrtanthus obliquus*). The sections or layers flake away as do those of an onion. This bulb is not to be confused with one of the amaryllis species also known as *incwadi*. It may not be out of place to mention here that the Sixosa word for a book is taken from the name of the bulbs referred to, the leaves of an opened book appearing to flake apart as do the layers or sections of *incwadi*.

While the bandaging proceeded, the older men approached the boys and exhorted them as to the duties and responsibilities which would be theirs upon entering the estate of manhood.

The bandaging being completed, the boys retired to the *sutu*, and then for the time being the ceremonies ended except that every loose piece of grass, twig or leaf which by any chance might have been besprinkled with blood was carefully collected and placed on the fire which smouldered within the *sutu*. I was informed that the foreskins were to be taken by some trusted relatives and by them secreted, so that use might not be made of them for the casting of evil spells upon the boys.

I must not omit to mention that all the proceedings were under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who on such occasions carries out his duties under the title of *i-Kankata*—that is, warder or guardian.

From enquiries made on the spot, I learned that it was customary with some clans or families to shave the heads of the initiates before the ceremony, but that this was merely a matter of taste or usage with the clan or family. I was also informed that in certain clans it was the practice for the initiates to go to a neighbouring stream the evening before the circumcision and there perform necessary ablutions; with others the anointing, as has been described, was considered a suitable and sufficient act of purification.

The boys remain in seclusion for varying periods—usually three or four months—during which time their bodies are kept smeared with white clay. This is, no doubt, in order to make them easily distinguishable so that they may be avoided by those to whom for the time being they are *tabu*. At the end of the period of seclusion, the *sutu* lodge is burned, along with the *karosses*, bandages, medicines, sticks and other articles which they have used during their time of initiation.

I have refrained in the main from placing any specific construction upon the various ceremonial acts herein described, preferring to set down a simple record of facts as I found them rather than to draw conclusions and parallels which some study of the subject might justify. I have thought, however, that the following quotations, which indicate the great antiquity of the rite, its introduction into Africa, some of its purposes and its wide distribution among people of primitive culture, might well be set down here.

"He (Herodotus) says withal that the *Ethiopians* learned to circumeise their "privy parts from the Egyptians."

"But He (God) charged him (Abraham) in order to *keep his posterity unmixed* "with others that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin."

—Flavius Josephus.

"This national rite is performed at the age of puberty and partakes partly "of a civil and partly of a religious character. As a civil rite it introduces boys "into the estate of manhood, and as a religious rite it imposes upon them the "responsibility of conforming to all the rites and ceremonies of their system of "superstition."—Col. Maclean's "Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs," 1866.

"It will be convenient to mention here another singular and ancient custom "that prevails in Australia, i.e., circumcision. It commonly forms part of an "initiation ceremony, and there is some reason to suppose that it may have "originated as one of the rites by which the boy was made into a man" . . . "We meet with it among many African tribes."—"Ancient Hunters," W. J. Sollas, 1915.

"Most people in the lower stages of culture compel their young men and boys "to pass through initiation ceremonies; indeed, sometimes, through long series of "them . . . usually, however, they are terminated at the age of twenty. "In every tribe in Australia there are certain ceremonies through which all the "youths must pass before they are admitted to the ranks of men, or are allowed "to take part in any of the sacred mysteries."—"Primitive Ritual and Belief," E. O. James, 1917.

FRANK BROWNLEE.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

Anthropology: General.

British Association.

Proceedings of Section H. (Anthropology) at the Centenary Meeting **249**
of the British Association: London, 23-30 September, 1931.

The President, Professor A. R. Radcliffe Brown, reviewed the progressive change of standpoint in anthropological studies, from the investigation of origins by methods fundamentally historical and dominated by older notions of the function of the historian, towards a sociology in which the study of functions should dominate that of structures and artefacts of any kind. His principal illustrations were drawn from the study of totemism and of incest; and he ended with useful comments on the theory and practice of "applied anthropology" in administration, and a plea for an institute for the systematic study of native institutions and the effects of European culture on them.

Naturally, such a prelude was followed by a valuable series of studies of primitive customs. Mr. C. W. M. Hart discussed *Tribal Government in Australia*; Miss C. Wedgwood gave a critical analysis of the so-called *Avoidance and Joking Relationships* with special reference to Melanesia; Miss B. Blackwood described *Puberty Rites and Initiation Ceremonies in the Northern Solomons*; Mr. Gregory Bateson, *A Form of Shamanism on the Sepik River in New Guinea*; Professor C. Daryll Forde analysed the *Agriculture and Land Ownership of the Hopis*; Professor Mrs. A. C. L. Donohugh the *Customs and Folklore of a Luba Tribe in Katanga*; Professor and

Mrs. C. G. Seligman the *Social Organization of the Nilotes*; and Dr. E. F. Evans-Pritchard the *Nuer of the Nilotic Sudan* among whom he has worked recently. A more general question, the *Origin of the Bantu*, was discussed by Professor Cipriani of Florence, who has recently travelled in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Miss L. Mair, characterizing *Economic Man in Primitive Society*, contrasted modern with primitive economy in respect of the motives other than economic which play an important part in primitive economic behaviour, such as the religious attitude towards land or cattle; the kinship group as co-operative and especially land-owning unit; bride-price: compensation gifts to the chief in trust for the needy; and, in general, the responsibility of the group towards its poor.

Practical applications of anthropological science to administration were discussed by Sir Hubert Murray, K.C.M.G., in regard to *Native Labour Problems in Papua*, where government tries to reconcile the principles of the well-being of the native and the development of the country under European guidance. The first is paramount, the second unavoidable if the first is to be achieved. Admittedly, European administration imposes a form of activity involving a conception of duty strange to a primitive people; it is a primary duty to ensure that they "suffer no harm from this absolutely novel and very dangerous adventure." This counsel has its applications nearer home than Papua. Lord Lugard, in a joint discussion with Section E (Geography) described the "new exploration" of Africa by research on native institutions and adaptations of modes of government under the mandatory system. Alternative solutions for the problem of *Africa in Transition* are offered by the policies of "assimilation" to European habits, and of "indirect rule," building on African foundations and gradually improving them. An outstanding problem is the adaptation of religious teaching to African conceptions of the spirit world. In Section L (Education) Mr. S. Rivers-Smith opened a discussion of the *Education of Backward Peoples*; Major H. A. Harman illustrated some *Difficulties and Inconsistencies* in this matter in Africa. Mr. C. W. Hobley and Lord Raglan represented Section H, and the latter administered the welcome stimulant of common sense and humour to an otherwise academic debate.

Other aspects of "applied" anthropology were illustrated by Professor V. Suk, of Brno, in Czechoslovakia, whose work on the *Ethnic Pathology* in his own country is memorable, and by Judge Dowdall in a paper on the *Psychological Origins of Law*. Following James Ward as his "psychological expert," he emphasized the principle of "subjective selection" of ends which satisfy the individual, and of means conducive thereto. An important factor in the growth of legal ideas is the development of legal terminology. Early man conceives his corporate unity as "somehow resembling that of a biological species." This unity is rather that of a community than of a society; it is based on disposition rather than device; on imitation rather than invention. Here again language illustrates the point of view; the Sanskrit *dharma*, and Greek *nomos* (in its double usage), Latin *societas* (essentially "following" a leader) and Greek *dike* (the "pointed-out" road to the desired end) are examples. A "group mind" arises by articulation of individual interests, causing individuals to act as a group; heredity, education, and the vesting of relevant interests in individuals thus disposed to value them, co-operate to create this.

An *Anthropological Approach to Eugenics* was outlined by Captain G. Pitt-Rivers; and another aspect of biological anthropology was illustrated by the *Human Hybrids* of Professor C. G. Seligman.

Physical Anthropology had distinguished contributions by Professor Sergio Sergi, of Rome, on the neanderthaloid *Saccopastore Skull*, comparable with those from La Quina, La Chapelle, and Gibraltar; by Professor G. Elliot-Smith on *Peking Man*, an admirable retrospect of a fine piece of collaborated work; by Dr. R. Broom on *Early Man in South Africa*, and by Miss D. A. E. Garrod on a fresh Mousterian

child, and Mesolithic (Natufian) burial place, from caves near Athlit, in Palestine. (MAN, 1931, 159, Plate H.)

A fresh criterion of the geological age of early human types was propounded by Professor H. F. Osborn, in the *Enamel-ridge-plate-grinding-tooth measurement of the geologically contemporaneous Proboscidea*.

Archæological papers were numerous as usual, and the suggestion has been made that next year there should be a separate sub-section to deal with them. Miss G. Caton-Thompson and Miss E. W. Gardner described the *Geology and Archæology of the Kharga Depression* already summarized in MAN 1931, 91, Plate E., and so important for the physiographic regime of Pleistocene times; Messrs. L. A. Cammiade and F. J. Richards suggested *Climatic Changes in Palæolithic India* correlated with the formation of laterite in periods of heavy rainfall and erosion. Mr. C. van Riet Lowe reviewed the *Early Palæolithic Cultures in South Africa*; Mr. A. L. Armstrong announced a *Late Upper Aurignacian Station in N. Lincolnshire*, near Scunthorpe; Mr. H. St. George Gray, the long-delayed results of *Excavations at Avebury* in 1901-02; Dr. M. Vassits, the discovery of a burial chamber with nine bodies in the lowest layer on the *Vinča Site*, in Serbia; Mr. W. A. Heurtley, an *Early Bronze Age Site in Western Macedonia* at Armenochóri, near Flórina, where neolithic contacts with Danubian culture occur; and Miss Winifred Lamb, her *Excavations at Thermi*, in Lesbos (MAN, 1931, 38), where periods I and II resemble Troy I; period III is unrepresented at Troy, and fills the interval between Troy I and II; and periods IV and V are equivalent to Troy II.

Sir Arthur Evans described in detail the *Temple Tomb of the House of Minos*, its significance in the history of the palace regime in Central Crete, and his elaborate devices for its preservation. Other periods were illustrated by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson's *Three Seasons' Excavations at Nineveh*, illustrated by a film record; by Professor Sir Flinders Petrie's *Excavations at Old Gaza*, illustrating especially the Hyksos occupation of Palestine; Miss M. A. Murray's *Ossuary of the Bronze Age in Minorca*, with a note by Sir Arthur Keith on its contents; by W. V. E. Nash-Williams in the *Early Iron Age Hill Settlement at Llanmelin, Monmouthshire*, for which a grant was obtained; and by Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler in his summary of excavations on the *Prehistoric and Roman Sites of Verulamium (St. Albans)*. Mr. H. P. Vowles gave a popular but suggestive review of the *Early Evolution of Power Engineering*; and Miss W. Blackman a study of the *Magical and Decorative Significance of Egyptian Tattoo Designs*.

A word should be added about the valuable work of those Research Committees, whose interim reports did not appear in the programme; on *Kent's Cavern*, where patient detailed exploration continues; on *Derbyshire Caves*, especially in Cales Dale, and at the Pin Hole Cave in Creswell; on *Sumerian Copper*, recording further analyses of early alloys; on the *Distribution of Bronze Implements*, of which the catalogue for England and Wales is nearly completed; and on *Ethnological Researches in Crete*, reporting the deposit of Mr. C. H. Hawes' anthropometric records, after many years, in the Department of Human Anatomy at Oxford. Anthropology has long been generously treated by the British Association in the matter of grants, and this centenary year was no exception.

As already announced, the Huxley Memorial Lecture by Dr. Georg Thilenius on *Some Biological Viewpoints in Anthropology* was given in the course of the Centenary Meeting. It was a comprehensive review of modern anthropological methods, and is published in the Institute's *Journal* (Vol. LX, 2), and already on sale separately.

If criticism of a programme full of novelties and interest is permissible, it should be that, as often happens, papers on points of relatively minute detail are allowed to occupy time which might be better utilized in discussing contributions of general or philosophic importance.

J. L. M.

Subject Index.

Royal Anthropological Institute.

The Subject-Index in the Library of the Institute. By A. M. **250**
Hocart, M.A., Librarian.

The existence of a subject-index in the library of the Institute is not sufficiently known. The reason is that owing to lack of space in the library it has to be kept in the Librarian's room. The use made of it is, in consequence, not proportionate to the labour spent on it, and its potential value.

The chief periodicals are indexed completely; the others have to be content with partial indexing owing to the lack of staff. Inquiries in person or by correspondence are always welcome as proof of the usefulness of the Institute. One of its functions is to co-ordinate all information and to put the results at the disposal of the Fellows. The Librarian will be glad if Fellows will report any articles of importance that might escape indexing.

Incidentally the Suggestion Book kept in the reference room of the library might receive suggestions from a greater number of Fellows than is the case at present.

A. M. HOCART.

REVIEWS.

Sociology.

Dingwall.

The Girdle of Chastity: a Medico-Historical Study. By Eric John Dingwall. Pp. x + 171. 8½ × 5½ in. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1931. 10s. 6d. **251**

Some scepticism, as to whether any of the many existing "girdles of chastity" have ever actually been used for the purposes for which apparently they were designed, has at times been shown. Of the several hundreds of such objects known, many, in both public museums and private collections, doubtless (and often obviously) are falsifications—apparatus so simple to construct and so easily given the appearances of use and of antiquity, and at the same time so attractive to certain amateur collectors and interesting to students in several sciences, could hardly hope to escape the attention of forgers. But even the many others, whose antiquity could not well be questioned, have by some writers been claimed to have been made as erotic mystifications, as expressions of coarse pleasantries, or for other similar things, rather than for actual wear. Such scepticism must seem to us to be quite unjustifiable from any but a "mid-Victorian" viewpoint. Strong influences, largely emotional, but also moral and physical in origin, if unrestrained, would have tended to encourage the introduction and application of apparatus of the kind, while a social system in which woman was a form of property, combined with a religious one, in which she was looked upon as a temptation toward sin, must have reassured some who might otherwise have felt compunction as to its employment, though they lived in a society so accustomed to cruelty, both physical and psychical, that often its effects passed unnoticed save by those who bore them, and so inured to pain as to regard it as a normal accompaniment of life—but its expression should be stilled for ever by the overwhelming historical confirmation presented in this book.

There are reasons for believing that the idea of safeguards for women's chastity were brought to Europe by Crusaders who in the

East had learned of their employment amongst the Infidels. References appear in European literature, as early as the second half of the twelfth century, to what seem to have been either chastity-girdles or something in purpose related to them. Italy seems to have been, both in the Middle Ages and later, the principal seat of their use in Europe; a phenomenon commonly ascribed mainly to the notorious jealousy of the Italians. The earliest picture known of a chastity-girdle appears in a manuscript of about 1405; no actual girdle of the kind is, however, known to survive, excepting those from after a date well on in the sixteenth century. In Great Britain, the employment of chastity-girdles was advocated openly as late as 1848; and on the Continent, until at least the early years of the present century. It would appear that occasionally such apparatus is still made; though, we may reasonably suppose, without the intention which was formerly the principal incentive for its use.

A long and excellent survey of the subject follows a short introductory chapter, and is in turn followed by chapters dealing respectively with laws in their relations with chastity-girdles, "John Moodie, M.D.," and the many appearances in European fiction of the apparatus, and by a final chapter summarizing concisely the author's conclusions and listing the seven types into which he divides chastity-girdles. The nature of his subject has, obviously, made it necessary for him, or his predecessors, to infer the meanings of passages purposely made none too clear; commonly, but not always, in such cases, he follows previous publications. One inference, which seems to be unjustified, is quoted (but with considerable reserve) on p. 61 *seq.*, in allusion to a penitential girdle of iron wire worn by novices in Peruvian and Spanish nunneries—an object which in fact would appear to be the narrow waistband formed of links with small points perpendicular to the line of the belt, intended to discomfort the wearer, and without direct significance so far as the sexual organs are concerned.

The author shows a wide acquaintance with the published material, only a small proportion of which is in English, dealing with and related to his theme, and he has fully illustrated his text with a number of excellent figures. The book is likely long to remain the standard work—at least in English—on its subject.

W. L. H.

Polynesia.

Rowe.

Samoa under the Sailing Gods. By N. A. Rowe, with an Introduction by Lloyd Osbourne. London and New York: (Putnam). Pp. xv + 339, with plates. Price 15s.

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This book is an attempt to give the history of British Samoa from the earliest European contact to the present day. The first two parts are devoted to early voyagers, the introduction of Christianity, German occupation, and the administration during the war. The remaining parts are a record of the author's own impressions and the later history of the islands under the New Zealand mandate. The evil effects of the too rapid changes made by the early missionaries are in particular pointed out, and on page 86 we read: "It would seem that 'a nasty outlook on sex, the spirit of prying 'and pimping, and a hatred of beauty and 'joie de vivre, underlay the majority of the 'Protestant prohibitions."

The chief value of the book lies in the account of the Mandato. Many cases of mal-administration are quoted; for instance, the setting up of indirect government on principles that are alien to the native culture, the prohibition of general feasts and exchanges, and interference with marriage customs. Unfortunately the author had had no anthropological training, and he gives not even a brief, much less a complete, picture of the natives either as they were or are now. Thus, we are told nothing of the social and economic organization, and it is clear that the system of land tenure has been misunderstood. The result is that there is no background against which to view the blunders referred to. However, Mr. Rowe's case is so good that this treatment does little to spoil it; which goes to prove that a well-meaning administration—Mr. Rowe is apparently by no means prepared to admit that the administration of General Sir George Richardson was well-meaning—is almost certainly bound to fail where it is ignorant of the culture of the people at large.

"Samoa under the Sailing Gods" is not intended to appeal specially to an anthropological audience, who, indeed, will find it salted with too many sweeping generalizations that are completely unfounded, with too much that is merely personal, and with too many accounts of the manners and customs of Europeans settled in Samoa.

H. I. H.

Samoa.

Buok.

Samoa Material Culture. By Ti Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck). Bornice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 75. Honolulu. 1930. 10½ x 7. Pp. xi + 724; 55 plates, 338 text-figures.

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The material culture of the Polynesian islands of the Pacific is now being studied

in the intensive fashion that modern standards demand. Whether the investigators are American, or, as in the present instance, New Zealanders, their work owes little to the imagination, since they are engaged in laying a foundation upon which future theories of contact and diffusion may be safely built. The author of this volume is notably cautious in his digressions from the highway of fact, and the romantic paths of speculation have clearly few attractions for him. He has already an earlier study of the material culture of the Cook Islands to his credit, whilst Lynton has described and discussed that of the Marquesas. Further publications from the Bishop Museum, on the Society Islands, the Austral Group, Tonga, and perhaps others, are in contemplation. These, together with earlier volumes from this fertile museum, and those detailed studies of Maori life and culture which we owe to New Zealand ethnologists, will place us in a new position with regard to the study of the origins and spread of Polynesian culture. As Dr. Buck points out in his Conclusion, which contains a valuable preliminary discussion of distributional data, the subject cannot be viewed comprehensively until more is known.

As is well known, especially perhaps to museum men, the material culture of Samoa is less complex, and in its products less spectacular, than is that of most other Polynesian groups. The Samoans were (and are) a practical people in practical matters, and though they were bound to tradition in their ceremonial, they kept mainly within the limits of convenience in material things. This led to simplicity in technique and artefacts, but if the work of the investigator is lightened in consequence, this book indicates that there is ample food for study. It is difficult to imagine that a more careful and detailed account of the material culture of any people can be produced than that which is before us. The technology is presented with biological accuracy, and whilst form, structure, and technique are predominant, functional and social aspects are not neglected. If any sections can be selected for special commendation, they are those dealing with houses, baskets and textiles, bark-cloth, canoes, and fishing and fowling. Especially noteworthy is the care devoted to detail of technique in the descriptions of lashing and binding components of artefacts. The adze is also treated very fully, and it is permissible to make one protest in relation to the description of this tool.

The author applies the term "adz" not to the complete implement but to the blade only, thus necessitating the use of the term "hafted adz" for the adze proper. On the samo principle, we might use the term arrow for an arrow-head, an arrow proper then becoming a hafted arrow; similarly with other tools and weapons. It may be hoped that this particular terminological inexactitude will not establish itself in current use. The description of the forms of the adze-blade is based on a compromise in terminology arrived at by

several Pacific technologists, and it is a step in the right direction, even though one may dislike to see the bevelled face of the blade called the back, and lateral margins called edges.

Such criticisms are of small weight, however, compared with the burden of praise which lies upon the author, and the authorities of the Bishop Museum, for the production of a book which is never likely to be superseded as the standard work on the material culture of Samoa.

H. S. HARRISON.

Folklore.

Stoney: Shelby.

Black Genesis: A Chronicle. By 254
Samuel Gaillard Stoney and Gertrude Mathews Sholby. Illustrated by Martha Bonsloy Brûère. New York: (Macmillan). 1930. 8vo, xxix + 192 pp. 15s. net.

This book contains, in negro jargon, a series of tales founded on the opening chapters of Genesis taught by the missionaries and richly embellished and interpolated by the negro. The language of the stories is Gullah, which the authors state to be the "most" pronounced of the Negro-English jargons "in America" and "the living symbol" of struggles of early settlers before, as

"well as after, they came to this Continent (America)."

There are undoubted African elements in the stories in which the principal actors are Brer Rabbit and his associates, but it needs a very discerning eye to distinguish between the elements brought over from the homeland by the ancestors of the niggers of to-day, and those that have come into their purview from generations of contact with Europeans and Americans.

In speaking of the prototype of Brer Rabbit, the authors have gone astray in one respect, for they say "But in Liberia, there are no rabbits to speak of. Recasting" has occurred; Br' Rabbit was dropped, "and a little deer, round-eared, big-eyed" and nimble-footed, takes the leading part "in the stories." Actually, however, there are no deer in Liberia, and except for a single species in the extreme north, the whole family of *cervidae* is entirely absent from Africa.

These stories in the form in which they are presented to us in this book, are merely amusing and entertaining tales. Their value to the folklorist is lost because there is no appendix or other section of the book devoted to the detailed examination of their origin and affinities.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

CORRESPONDENCE.

General.

Hocart.

Applied Anthropology.

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SIR,—Do anthropologists seriously believe that the study of the manners and customs of any people qualifies one to legislate for them? Would they ask Monsieur Maurois, M. André Siegfried, and other students of English society to come and reform it? No, because their knowledge is knowledge and not experience. Outside knowledge is as far as the anthropologist ever gets or can get. In order to qualify for reforming a community a man must have inside experience of its workings, he must live the life. If, for instance, he wants to reform Fijian society he must be adopted into a clan, observe all the relationships that follow from that adoption, join in the communal work, plant, fish, build with his adopted people, contribute to their feasts. When he has done that for a few years, he may begin to be able to forecast the effect of any legislation or administrative measure. More probably he will realize that he is further from being a member of that society than an English parvenu is from being a member of the English aristocracy, that his imitation is purely mechanical, that really to get inside you must be born in it. Without that inner experience attempts at reform are blind, and the best service we can render to savages is to leave them alone.

If anyone wants to satisfy some craving of his subconscious self by going about making other people good, let him begin at home, reform our poison gases, aerial warfare, slums, prostitution, unemployment, abnormal sex morality, class hatred, political corruption, increasing lunacy and all the evils our society is heir to. When he has removed the beams

from the eyes of his own people it will be time to think of removing female circumcision, child slavery, bride-price, ignorance of the number of Henry VIII's wives and other mores from the eyes of our Asiatic and African brothers.

A. M. HOCART.

Africa, East.

Williams.

Grooved Rocks in Tanganyika.

SIR,—In "Ila-Speaking People," I, 256 p. 18, is an illustration of some grooves in rocks the derivation of which is attributed (in the absence of local tradition regarding them) to some phase in ancient mining operations.

In North Western Tanganyika and near Lake Victoria are groups of grooves fashioned in flat or sloping granite outcrops. These grooves result from the grinding of grain into flour, by groups of marriageable young girls who gather for the purpose, near their homes, in the late afternoon and evenings after harvest. While grinding the grain they sing or laugh and joke with youths who gather on the surrounding rocks and return their banter; this social custom is a phase in local courtship.

The grooves are of course made by the friction of a selected stone rubbed backwards and forwards under pressure in the hands of the girls during the process of crushing the grain into flour between it and the granite outcrop; when the hollows so made become too deep they are abandoned and fresh sites selected.

Is this also the origin of those grooves mentioned in the "Ila-Speaking Peoples"?

O. G. WILLIAMS.

Papua.

Austen.

"Gopi" or "Kwoi" ? [Cf. MAN, 1931, 60.]

SIR,—The carved boards from the 257
Papuan Gulf area described by Mr. Thorpe, of the Australian Museum, Sydney (MAN, 1931, 60), are not known as "gopi," but "kwoi." They undoubtedly come from the Purari Delta, between the mouth of the Purari River and Port Roinilly. From enquiries made from the natives in the Purari, it was learned that the boards were possibly made by some Maipua people. These Maipua are situated to the east of the L.M.S. station at Urika, and this may account for the modern influence shown in the carving. Even if these boards are about fifty years old, which I doubt, it is still very possible that they were carved after the Government had established themselves at Port Moresby. The Rev. J. Chalmers was one of the first to visit the Purari, and his appearance may have created a great impression on those who saw him, so some of the people may have endeavoured to carve "kwoi" boards with an impression of a European, in the hopes of the "kwoi" becoming even more sacred than those they had in the "ravi" or long house. At the present time one or two "kwoi" with somewhat similar carving are to be found in Maipua, but they have not the same sacred significance as "kwoi" with the true carvings. The typical carving found throughout the Purari Delta can be seen in the photographs of the interiors of "ravi" in Williams's "Natives of the Purari Delta." Each "larava" (see pp. 64 ff. *ibid.*) has "kwoi" with its own special carvings, and, should a "larava" break up, both portions keep their original name and carve their "kwoi" in the original manner.

Dr. Haddon calls these ceremonial tablets "gopi." This is not correct. As a name for carved boards "gopi" is found only among the peoples allied to the Kiwai stock. In a report on the Turama tribes of Western Papua, I hope to throw much more light on the meaning of these sacred carved boards, which are so numerous from the Purari to the Bamu. L. W. AUSTEN.
Acting Resident Magistrate, Kikori,
Delta Division.

Pacific: Place Names.

Thomson.

The Distorted Name of Tobea Village, Solomon Islands.

SIR,—The village called Tobea is in the Funarite District, San Cristoval, 258
Eastern Solomons.

Torona, an elderly native born on the Island of San Cristoval, who had been taken by a French ship to work in New Caledonia many years ago, arrived back home. He was called Sequin by the other natives, as he continually chattered about the vessel, called the "Sequin," that had repatriated him to San Cristoval.

Torona had travelled, and so he must build a new village to show that he had some "go" in him. He became a sort of small

boss, as he had acquired prestige from having lived in New Caledonia.

Proudly he called the village "Du Pierre," an essentially Gallic name. The natives, however, soon distorted this to Derbea. A District Officer, writing down the name of the new village from the way it sounded as the natives gave it, dubbed it "Tobea."

One wonders how often the same thing may occur—a high-sounding name corrupted by the multitude. R. F. THOMSON.
Tulagi, British Solomon Islands.

Physiology.

Rose.

Trobriland Paternity.

SIR,—With regard to Mr. Gaskell's 259
doubt (MAN, 1931, 240) concerning the powers said to be possessed by certain female Trobriand Islanders to eject the semen after coitus (MAN, 1931, 162), I would point out that the same thing is reported of some native Australian women. Floss-Bartels (*Das Weib*,³ Vol. i, section 124, p. 555) quote from Miklucho-Maklay⁴ the evidence of an eye-witness, a certain Morton, who professes to have seen the operation performed. It is added that there is a native word for it. The district in question is apparently the neighbourhood of Adelaide.

Whether any such power really exists, or, if it does, whether it would be effective to prevent conception, are points on which I can offer no opinion. H. J. ROSE.

Bride Price.

Cullen Young.

"Equilibrium Guarantee": Translate and Explain.

SIR,—I would not trouble you further 260
on the matter of my suggestion of the phrase "equilibrium guarantee" were it not that silence might suggest assent to a statement occurring in MAN, 1931, 233.

Lord Raglan suggests that it would be difficult to "explain this term to a native of Nyasaland," and goes on to "point out the fallacy of supposing that people can have ideas for which they have no words." But I would have no difficulty at all, not merely in "explaining" the term, but in finding in the Tumbuka dialect the exact equivalent, for the simple reason that the people, having the idea, have, naturally, the exact words for it. They would not be African Bantu else.

I would simply use the phrase *kuyaniska mbumba* for the transaction which "causes" the families to be in a state of equality," or, I would use *mafuku* instead of *mbumba* if I were dealing with one of the larger village groups in which a number of *mbumba* (i.e. families) were living together in something of "clan" formation.

The fact that the phrase uses multisyllabic English does not mean that the idea is foreign to a simpler type of people. It actually represents an idea fundamental in their social thinking, and, therefore, the right African words are there at your service instantly. T. CULLEN YOUNG.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.

GABI FIGURES FROM JEBBA ISLAND, MIDDLE NIGER.

Photographs by Mr. Rochfort Rae.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Vol. XXXI, 261-282.

DECEMBER, 1931.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Nigeria.

With Plate M.

Palmer.

Gabi Figures. By H. R. Palmer, C.M.G.

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Representations of deities cast in metal are found in the region round Jebba and Rābā, on the Middle Niger. The photographs herewith were taken in 1921 by Mr. Rochfort Rae.

The figures depicted from different points of view in Nos. 1, 2, 3 are quite well known. They are kept on the island of Jebba, near the present railway bridge, and each is known as a *gago*.

The term *gago* is used as a title, and is still the title of village chiefs or village head men in the Attahate of Idah, whence the founders of the Wupe kingdom at



FIG. 7.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 8.

Rābā, to which these objects belonged, are supposed to have come in the sixteenth or seventeenth century to the Jebba region.

So far as the female figure is concerned the body markings are said to be similar to those of the Kede (canoe people) among the Wupe, and to most of some of the Jukon peoples of the Benue.

On the other hand, the markings on the face of the male figure are those of the people known as *Kamberin Berri Berri* (i.e., peoples of Berber descent on the paternal side). The quilted armour, and curious device on head-dress, also seem to indicate a northern origin.

This device seems to be some kind of a bird with long and twisted legs—possibly the *geis* or greater bustard which is so commonly used both as a camel brand and otherwise by the southern Tuareg.

No. 4, which I have not actually seen, is clearly the male *gago* in full dress, wearing a breast-plate, as still dress the Attah of Idah, with the same "bird device" as is in the head-dress.

As regards No. 5, there are, of course, no wild ostriches below about latitude 12° 30'.

Who, or what, No. 6 may be I do not know, except that, as a work of art, it seems far above the level of all the other figures.

Nos. 7 and 8 apparently represent some kind of a priest, but the head of the staff is unusual.

So far as can be judged, these figures must be associated with the old kingdom or state in this region known as *Gabi*, a name which is merely a variation of the modern place-name *Kebbi* or *Kabi*. *Gabi*, it would appear, became fused with the invading canoe-people from Idah to form the pre-Fulani Wupe kingdom at Rābā near Jebbā.

Similarly, further up the Niger, in Dendi, the Songhay empire is said to have resulted from a fusion between the fishermen (Sorko) and the agriculturalists (Gabi). H. R. PALMER.

Africa, East: Sociology.

Huntingford.

Free Hunters, Serf-Tribes, and Submerged Classes In East Africa. By G. W. B. Huntingford. 262

The hunting and serf-tribes of East Africa may be grouped in three divisions according to their status and their relationship to the peoples with which they are most in contact. This grouping may be conveniently shown in tabular form :—

Status.	Tribe.	In contact with or subject to	Occupation.	Country.
Free hunters	Okiek	{ Nandi; Māsac; Kikuyu. Labwor, etc.	Hunters.	Kenya; Tanganyika.
	"Dorōbo"		Hunters.	Uganda.
Serfs	Il-Kunōno	Māsae	Blacksmiths.	Kenya; Tanganyika.
	Ariangulu	Gala	Hunters.	Kenya.
	Sanye	Gala	Hunters.	Kenya.
	Watta	Gala	Hunters.	Abyssinia.
	Boni	Somali	Hunters.	Kenya.
	Tumalod	Somali	Hunters.	Somali.
	[Dupi] [3 clans]	Bari; Kakwa AwaHanga	Menials. Various.	Sudan. Kenya.
Submerged classes.	[kitoŋgik]	Nandi	Blacksmiths.	Kenya.
	[tomonok ti yukit]	Bari	Blacksmiths.	Sudan.
	[tomonok ti kare]	Bari	Fishermen.	Sudan.
	[ligo]	Bari	Hunters.	Sudan.

I. *Free Hunters*.—The Okiek, or, as they are commonly called, Dorōbo, are a presumed autochthonous people who live solely by hunting.¹ They are not in

¹ G. W. B. Huntingford, "A Hunting Tribe of Kenya Colony," *Discovery*, IX., 250-252. See also my paper on "The Kāmellilo-Kāpchepekendi Dorōbo," in *J.R.A.I.*, vol. LIX. (July-Dec.).

subjection to Māsae, Nandi, or Kikuyu, and the language spoken by all of the nine or ten groups into which they are divided is a dialect of Nandi.² Krapf says of the Māsae Dorōbo that "their duty is to hunt elephants for the Masai"³; but this does not necessarily imply a servile condition, and Krapf's statement—he knew really very little about them—seems to be the basis for the assumption that the Dorōbo are a servile race. It is, however, true that they do, or did, hunt for Māsae (though not, apparently, for Nandi); but this was not because they were serfs of the Māsae.

Mr. E. J. Wayland has described in an unpublished paper from which he has kindly sent me extracts,⁴ a hunting people in Karamojoŋg (N.E. Uganda) called Dorōbo by him. Physically, they resemble the Labwor, Dodoth, and other neighbouring tribes; and though they are primarily hunters, they keep a few goats, and grow simsim, maize, millet, and tobacco, with which last they supply other tribes. Like the Okiak, they make neither pottery nor ironwork, but, unlike them, they do not even make baskets. They use tanged spear-heads.⁵ Tobacco is the medium of exchange. They have no age-grades. They are celebrated as rain-makers, like some of the Okiak described by Hollis.⁶ The tribe is small, comprising three sections with a total population of approximately sixty persons. As regards speech, they talk Karamojoŋg, and have also a language of their own, the character of which is not apparent from Mr. Wayland's short vocabulary, except that it is not a Nandi dialect, nor can I trace any resemblance to the non-Gala portion of Ariangulu.⁷ This tribe probably represents the most westerly branch of the hunting tribes which are named in division I, the Boni, Sanye, Watta, etc., who may possibly be akin to the Okiak, and perhaps separated from them at a more or less remote period. It does not appear that they hunt for their neighbours, but rather that they act as guides and spies.

II. *Serfs*.—The Il-Kunōno (= "blacksmith") of the Māsae, and the Dupi of the Bari seem to be in the strictest subjection at the present day, the Bari dupi more so than the Māsae kunōno. The latter are attached to each of the Māsae clans, and one clan, Kipuyōui, seems to be more or less a smith-clan. They intermarry, and are not supposed to marry the free Māsae. A Māsae oils his hand before taking up anything which a smith has held, to avoid contamination. The Il-Kunōno have a language of their own, though they speak Māsae.⁸ "It appears to be simply a dialect of Masai . . . More than two-thirds of Hollis's vocabulary (150 words) are the same as Masai. Of the remainder, twelve words are Nandi. It is curious to notice that four words which specially concern the trade of a smith are not like either the Masai or the Naudi equivalents: iron, e-samereita; knife, o-siota; spear, en-gandiit; axe, e-wuyuwuyu."⁹ I have suggested elsewhere¹⁰ that e-wuyuwuyu may be connected with a Bantu word ihaiywa (Kakumega), iyaiwa (Kitosh), meaning "axe," and hence with the Nandi aiyuo. The Il-Kunōno, we are told, "are not rich in cattle . . . they have no luck with cattle."¹¹ This seems to be the only point in which they definitely resemble the Dorōbo and dupi. The

² Hobley in MAN, 1905, 21; G. W. B. H. in MAN, 1928, 139.

³ "Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob," p. 21.

⁴ "Preliminary Studies of the Tribes of Karamoja."

⁵ Mr. Wayland draws attention to these, as being the only such spear-heads found in Karamojoŋg.

⁶ MAN, 1909, 101.

⁷ In this vocabulary, four words (alup = earth, yangalulo = river, yakai = hut, yokoliya = fish) are the same as Karamojoŋg; three may be compared with Luo (bias = spear, cf. Luo bihi = be sharp, and Dinka bit = iron point; chiok = ox, perhaps cf. Luo chiayo = cattle; and emm = meat, cf. Luo em = thigh); two with Dinka (gwa = bird, cf. Dinka gu = dove; and iwiatan = fight, cf. Dinka uet = weapon); one with Nandi (kesen = shield, cf. Nandi kesen = carry); and one, dubu = elephant, with the Bantu forms ndovu, njovu, etc.

⁸ Hollis, "Masai," pp. 330, 331.

⁹ Eliot in Hollis, "Nandi," p. xxxiii.

¹⁰ J.R.A.I., LVII., 440.

¹¹ Hollis, loc. cit.

Dorōbo are said in Māsae folklore to have been formerly the only people who possessed cattle, and to have lost them through the cunning of a Māsae;¹² but this is probably an aetiological legend invented by a cattle-people to account for the, to them, dreadful condition of possessing no cattle.

Now the dupi of the Bari are described as slaves, menials—hewers of wood and drawers of water—who may be bought and sold, who may not marry free women, who may not own cattle, though they are said to have possessed them once, and lost them;¹³ and it is thought that they are of different stock from the Bari.¹⁴ Dr. Seligman suggests that the names okiek and dupiet (singular of dupi), which is also commonly heard as upiet, may be “variations of a common word used by a “group of cattle-owning tribes for an aboriginal non-cattle-owning stock.”¹⁵ Against this suggestion we may note: (1) that okiek (not oggiek, as he writes it, following Hobley) is the Dorōbo name for themselves, and only incidentally the Nandi name for them;¹⁶ (2) that the Māsae, also a cattle-owning people of the same stock as the Nandi, call them Il-Torōbo (whence “Dorōbo”), “the short people,” originally in allusion to the pygmy Dorōbo of the forests of Mount Kenya;¹⁷ (3) that, even if the Okiek and the dupi could be shown to belong to the same race, okiek is a Dorōbo word, while dupi apparently belongs to the group containing Bari and Kakwa, and also to Nilotic (*e.g.*, Lango opi);¹⁸ moreover, the interchange of k (g) and p in these groups has not yet been proved. Taking all this into consideration, I do not see that a parallel can be drawn between the dupi and the Dorōbo. Dr. Seligman gives a photograph (*loc. cit.*, Plate XLV., fig. 2) of a dupiet, whose face bears a striking resemblance to a certain type of Bantu Sapei (AwaSyani), a Bantu-speaking tribe living between the Bantu BaGisu and the Nandi-speaking Sapei (Roscoe’s Basabei) on the north side of Mount Elgon.

To return to the Il-Kunōno, who are thought to be of different race from the Māsae, it is possible that they represent the remains of a people said formerly to have inhabited the Uasin-Gishu plateau in Kenya. Two traditions, said to be from the Dorōbo, are recorded of this people: (1) they had many long-horned cattle, and were not like human beings; they were broken up by the Māsae, who entered from the north; (2) they were a race of clever dwarfs.¹⁹ The mention of clever dwarfs suggests that perhaps we may see here the origin of the Il-Kunōno.

Of hunting tribes who are, or were, in subjection to a dominating people, we have the Ariangulu of the Taru Desert, who speak a dialect of Gala, with a percentage of non-Gala words in the vocabulary;²⁰ the Sanye of Witu district, of whom every clan was either dependent on or associated with a corresponding Gala clan whose name the Sanye clan bore, and whose language also contains non-Gala elements;²¹ the Boni of Jubaland, who were serfs of the Somali, and hunted for them;²² the Tumalod, the smiths of the Somali, of whom it is said that “no free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it,”²³ their condition being somewhat similar to that of the Il-Kunōno; and lastly the Watta of Abyssinia, who are in subjection to the Gala, and speak, besides Gala, a non-Gala language of their own.²⁴ Occupying a somewhat different position are the serf-clans of the AwaHanga, a large Bantu-speaking tribe, more civilized than their neighbours, who live in North

¹² Hollis, “Masai,” p. 270.

¹³ Seligman in *J.R.A.I.*, LVIII., 429, 430, quoting E. B. Haddon.

¹⁴ *ib.*, p. 431.

¹⁵ *ib.*, p. 432.

¹⁶ Seligman says, “the Nandi call them oggiek,” *ib.*, p. 432.

¹⁷ K. R. Dundas in *MAN*, 1908, 76.

¹⁸ Seligman, *loc. cit.*, p. 432.

¹⁹ Hobley in *MAN*, 1906, 78.

²⁰ Hobley in *MAN*, 1912, 9.

²¹ Miss Werner in *MAN*, 1913, 107; and *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 39 n.

²² R. E. Salkeld in *MAN*, 1905, 94.

²³ Hollis, “Masai,” p. 330 n.

²⁴ Cerulli, “Folk Literature of the Gala of S. Abyssinia” (appendix).

Kavirondo. The ruling "clan" of this tribe, the AwaKhitsetse, has three serf-clans dependent on it, called: (1) AwaShikava, who construct "public works"; (2) Awa-Chero, who act as undertakers to the chief; (3) AwaKhalivu, whose elders are advisers to the chief, and whose young men act as police and runners, for which they receive fees; they also kill the chief's sacrificial beasts.²⁵

III. This division comprises what may reasonably be termed, as by Dr. Seligman, "submerged classes." These are people whose status is not servile, although it may once have been. They are subject to certain restrictions, yet they have more freedom than the serf-tribes proper. We find that among the Nandi, the blacksmiths (*kitoŋgik*) are a "submerged class." Of Māsae origin—belonging in fact to the Il-Kunōno—they speak both Nandi and Māsae. They are attached to the various clans, but have no clan of their own. The only restriction is on marriage with the Nandi; though nowadays there seems to be little objection to their marrying Nandi, and most of them are, for all practical purposes, Nandi. Arap Serem, a blacksmith of Kāmatarkui, near Kāpsabet, though of Māsae origin, is called by a Nandi name, and is married to a Nandi wife. As to their origin, Hollis says: ²⁶ "after they had lost their cattle from various causes, the Uasin Gishu Masai quitted their homes . . . Some of those who wandered into Nandi were hospitably received by an old man named Arap Sutek, who was the only blacksmith in the country at the time. Arap Sutek taught his protégés his trade, and when he died, the secret passed into their hands."

Among the Bari there seem to be three submerged classes: the Tomonok ti yukit, or blacksmiths; the Tomonok ti karo, or fishermen; and the Ligo or hunters. The smiths are "looked at as different, and to a certain extent, despised."²⁷ They are not restricted as to the choice of a wife, and may keep cattle, though they live in separate villages.²⁸ To all three classes the term *dupi* might apparently be applied "when they come into the presence of a chief who is a *luitat* or freeman, although . . . the smiths at any rate reject this term."²⁹

Blacksmiths are peculiar people among savages. Besides the servile or submerged status of those among the Nandi, Māsae, Bari, and Somali, they form a special clan, called *Uvino*, among the Gemi division of the Nilotic Luo.³⁰ The Suk smiths (*kitoŋgu*) are only found among the poor agricultural people: "God gave them no sheep, so he gave them cleverness instead."³¹ It is not stated whether they are a submerged class or not, or what their origin is. Craftsmen (*tumtu*³²) among the Gala—weavers, tanners, potters, smiths, and tailors—are "held to be effeminate by the warlike Gala, and accordingly looked down upon."³³

Whether or not the Ngabotok, or "pauper division" of the Turkana should be treated as a submerged class is not certain, owing to lack of information; though we are told that they "are treated with mild contempt in ordinary life."³⁴

The Dorōbo are in an entirely different condition from any of the other tribes and classes we have mentioned: they are slaves to nobody, in subjection to nobody, and have always been free. The people in the serf division are in various degrees of slavery; the Bari *dupi* are in the strictest slavery, the Il-Kunōno, Boni, Sanye, and Watta are in a condition not so much of actual servitude as approaching the state of the feudal retainers of the Middle Ages, to which we may perhaps liken

²⁵ K. R. Dundas, "The Wawanga and other tribes of the Elgon District," *J.R.A.I.*, XLIII, 19 seq. ²⁶ "Nandi," p. 36. ²⁷ Seligman, *loc. cit.*, 432. ²⁸ Seligman, *loc. cit.*, 433.

²⁹ Seligman, *loc. cit.*, 432.

³⁰ Hobley, "Eastern Uganda," p. 27. The Luo for "smith" is *ja-thedho*.

³¹ Beech, "Suk," p. 18.

³² This word is perhaps the same as the Bari *tumun-it* (sing. of *tomon-ok*), from *tuma* = strike. ³³ G. W. B. Huntingford in "Ancient Egypt," 1927, p. 40, following Tutschek.

³⁴ E. D. Emley, "The Turkana of Kolosa District," *J.R.A.I.*, LVII, 164.

also the artificers of the Nandi and Bari, who have completely emerged from serfdom.

The use of the word Dorōbo as a term for backward and retiring peoples is, perhaps, unfortunate, as it is liable to give rise to mistakes and misconceptions. As it is, we have to contend with the double use of the word in Kenya, denoting (1) the Okiek or true Dorōbo; (2) outlaws of various tribes who have taken to the forests, and live a Dorōbo-like life.³⁵ This is confusing enough; but the term, when used more or less indiscriminately, is apt to lead to false conclusions. For example, of the primitive tribe in Karamojaŋ already described, Mr. Wayland, who calls them "Dorōbo," says: "I fancy that the term 'Dorobo' will be found to be a generic one, thrust upon certain backward or retiring folk just as the term 'Batusi' seems to be; and I suppose that the Dorobo of Kenya and the Dorobo of Uganda are a different people."³⁶ The word "Dorōbo" having in Māsae a definite meaning and significance, being applied to the hunters who call themselves Okiek, it should be used only with reference to these Okiek. I think that Mr. Wayland is more or less correct in his supposition that the Uganda "Dorōbo" are of a different race from the Okiek; though, as I suggested at the beginning of this paper, they may belong to the Boni-Sanye-Ariangulu group of the hunting peoples, for they resemble the Okiek in some particulars, but not in language, though they are not really Dorōbo.³⁷ If a generic term is needed for poor and backward peoples like the Uganda "Dorōbo," I suggest that the Turkana word Ngabotok would do as well, and avoid ambiguity. This word denotes "the paupers of Turkana, who, having no stock, took up agriculture on the Turkwell river."³⁸

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Africa, East.

Hodgson.

Rain-making, Witchcraft and Medicine among the Anyanja.

By A. G. O. Hodgson.

263

When a chief dies, his hut is pulled down, one pole only being left standing. To this pole a flag of white cloth is attached, and round it is built a *kachisi*, or small hut where sacrifices are offered, which also is enclosed in a fence. When the next chief dies, the same thing is done, and the two huts are surrounded by a fence, and sacrifices are poured out between them.

If rain fails, the chief assembles all his people, the elders sweep round the village, and the women clean out the wells in anticipation of the coming shower, throwing the refuse away in the bush. The chief then explains the reason for the meeting, and with the consent of the people drops flour, little by little, on the ground in front of the *kachisi*, calling upon the spirits of his predecessors. The people stand up and clap, drink beer and pour it on the ground. Only those who are past procreation may come near the *kachisi*; menstruating women and persons who have recently indulged in sexual intercourse must remain at a great distance.

In the event of this ceremony failing to produce the desired rain, the *sing'ang'a*, or medicine man, is called in. Having previously abstained from sexual intercourse, he makes a hole in the ground in the *bwalo* (open space in the village), places a pot in the hole, and puts medicine in the pot. He then calls upon a barren or menstruating woman to pour water on the pot. She is chosen because of her continual flow of moisture; and before pouring the water she must remove her cloth in order not to stop the flow of rain. Then the *sing'ang'a* invokes the aid of the spirits. Each

³⁵ J.R.A.I., LVII., 440.

³⁶ In a letter dated 18th November, 1929.

³⁷ All the true Dorōbo speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of whether they are in contact with Māsae or Kikuyu, though they speak those languages in addition to their own. The Uganda "Dorōbo," like the Sanye and others, speak the language of their neighbours.

³⁸ Emley, *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

person present brings a small contribution, which is handed over to the chief and duly paid to the *sing'ang'a* after the fall of rain.

So far the proceedings have been harmless and lawful: but if the *sing'ang'a* is unsuccessful, it is now clear that some evilly disposed person is stopping the rain by witchcraft. A witch (*mfiti*) is a person possessing supernatural powers, acquired and strengthened by various means, but essentially by anthropophagy, and employed principally in the destruction of enemies and in the further indulgence of the craving for human flesh; and, though most of the beliefs regarding witchcraft are, of course, merely fable and superstition, there is no doubt that a great many eaters of human flesh are still to be found among the Anyanja and neighbouring tribes. The custom frequently runs in families, and a man will initiate his nephew or children: women are said to be more prone to the vice than men, as they have less pity when they hate. The *mfiti* is supposed to put medicine, known as *senga*,* in the grave of the man he has killed; this medicine causes the corpse to rise to the top of the grave, and the *mfiti* can easily remove it with a hook. He then takes part of the bones and flesh, replacing the skin and blowing it out, so that it appears to be as before. All *afiti* are, as it were, members of a society; they assemble together at night, invisible to all others, and naked save for a bag containing pieces of flesh with which they treat each other; then they call each other by their special witches' names, and instruct each other in their craft. Thus it is only natural that the *mfiti* should be regarded by the ordinary native as a particularly horrible kind of murderer. They abstain from normal sexual intercourse before action, but frequently seek to increase their supernatural power by incest.

The witchfinder is known as *mbisalvia*. Formerly all *afiti* were put to death on denunciation, unless they proved their innocence by *mwabvi*; but now they frequently have their *ufiti* removed, and the converted *mfiti* often becomes an *mbisalvia* himself. All the present-day *abisalvia* have, in fact, previously been *afiti*. Male *abisalvia* are in greater demand than female, as women cannot be trusted not to let off a good-looking man, even though he be an *mfiti*. When the *mbisalvia* is called in, he professes to mingle with the *afiti* at night, unknown to them, thus making himself acquainted with their local gossip. Only, since a man may not again eat human flesh after his *ufiti* has been removed, lest his stomach swell and burst, he also carries pieces of fowl in his bag, and substitutes them for the human flesh given him to eat by the *afiti*.

Next day, all the people having been assembled by the chief, and their contributions having been collected, they dance in a circle. The *mbisalvia*, supported by one or two assistants, dances in the centre, all carrying wildebeeste tails, containing in their hollow parts medicine which includes powdered human bones. They may dance for as long as four or five days. Finally the assistants leave, and the *mbisalvia* beats a drum, and says, "The *mfiti* who is stopping the rain is So-and-so," calling him by the name by which he is known by his fellow *afiti* at night. The chief then announces his ordinary name, and all the people seize the unfortunate man or woman, while the *mbisalvia* runs away, but is called back. He then proceeds to smell like a dog for the medicine used in stopping the rain, eventually producing from the roof or fireplace of the accused's hut a small antelope horn containing the medicine. This also includes powdered human bones, and the feathers of a cock or standard-winged nightjar (*cesmetornis vexillarius*) are sometimes stuck in it.

The *mfiti* may now be put to death at once; or may take *mwabvi* to prove his innocence, either voluntarily or by persuasion; or, if the chief be inclined to mercy, he may have his *ufiti* removed. This is done in the privacy of his hut, in the presence

* *Tenga* or *maengo* elsewhere is the name of medicine pressed on a door by a housebreaker to produce sleep or unconsciousness in the inmates. Scott's "Mang'anja Dictionary," and Stannus, *J.A.I.*, 1910, p. 285.

of the head of his family, the chief and the *mbisalvia* only. Medicine is given to him to drink, and his *ufiti* is then passed through his urethra in the form of pellets, bits of iron, nails, tips of antelope horn containing medicine, etc. The *mbisalvia* then dances the *ex-mfiti* in front of the people; rain falls, and the *mbisalvia* receives his pay and goes home, taking the horn with him for use on another occasion.

In the early months of 1928, a prolonged drought was experienced in the Chilwa plain, in consequence of which many accusations were made. In all the cases which came before the courts, the witchfinders spoke openly of their profession; but, whereas only sympathy can be felt for the credulous who believe in him, none can be accorded to the *mbisalvia* himself, who generally names a man who has a quarrel with the chief, adducing that grievance as the reason why he has avenged himself by stopping the rain. In one case, however, the *mbisalvia* was "got at" by the chief's son, and named as the *mfiti* the very chief who had called him in. Payment is, of course, held over until the rain actually falls.

In one of these cases the following procedure was adopted. Six people were named as *afiti*, tied up and thrown down on their backs in the sun, where they suffered minor assaults. The *mbisalvia* then dipped his wildebeeste tail in a pot of medicine, and smeared it over their stomachs. Afterwards they were made to stand up, and the *mbisalvia* took medicine in his hands, and poured it on their heads and over their persons. Then he shaved the heads, armpits and pubes of the men, but not of the women, after which all were bathed in the river.

As intimated in the preceding chapter, the normal procedure among the Anyanja when any person was charged with a crime was for the accused person to attempt to prove his innocence by vomiting a concoction of *muabvi*, the bark of the *erythrophloeum guineense*. This was invariably adopted when the charge was one of witchcraft. The mixture was formerly made by a professional mixer, called *mapondera*; but his calling has long since fallen into desuetude in Mlanji, and the bark is merely chewed by the accused. *Mwabvi* trees are to be found along most river banks; and so common is the practice amongst the immigrant tribes that it frequently happens that a man or woman rushes down to the stream, tears off a piece of bark and commences to chew it when accused of a most trivial offence. *Mwabvi* is often given to a dog or cat suspected of stealing its master's meal: but it is essential that, when it is administered, a formula must be used making it clear that it is being given as a test of innocence or guilt: otherwise it will have no effect. It is firmly believed that, if the person or animal has done no wrong, he cannot die. A humorous illustration of this principle was afforded by a native dog kept by the Government medical officer for the purpose of testing food believed to be poisonous. The dog continued to thrive after many trials, which were a standing joke throughout the district because no formula was used when the suspected food was given. Formerly, when a person was accused of theft, *muabvi* was frequently given to a fowl tied to the leg of the suspect.

The use of *ula*, or lots, is almost universal among the immigrant tribes, as it was formerly among the Anyanja, the most common form being a small gourd in which an antelope horn is shaken before pointing in the direction of the person, thing or place, of which indication is sought. This can be learnt by anyone, as distinct from the trade of a *sing'ang'a*, which generally runs in families, as it is considered a profitable occupation for a man to teach his son or nephew, and without some family influence an ordinary native has little chance of learning it.

There formerly existed among the Anyanja another class of witch destroyer, called *a-seketera*. When a death occurred, the chief called the *seketera*, who went with the others to dig the grave, sprinkled his medicine round it, and went away. The burial then took place in the usual manner. At dusk the *seketera* returned and repaired to the grave with the chief's men and the relations of the deceased. There

they lay in wait, and the *seketera* rubbed medicine over their faces and eyes to enable them to see the *afiti*. In due course the *afiti* appeared, and the slayer of the deceased raised the corpse from the grave, and distributed meat to his friends. The *seketera* blew his horn, and the *afiti* fell asleep, after which the *seketera* wounded whomsoever he would with his arrows, cutting off the tips, which remained embedded. Then they returned to the village, the *seketera* blew his horn, and the *afiti* woke up and ran away, the wounded ones dying a day or two later, and the remainder suspending their nefarious operations for a while.*

Medicine to increase the food supply, whether in the fields or in the grain store, is known as *mfumba*. This is of two main kinds, one being harmless and the other involving human sacrifice. The person sacrificed may be an enemy, but it is usually the young child of the persons concerned. When a man and his wife have hoed their garden industriously without obtaining the expected results, they may agree to resort to this method. The man then goes secretly at night to a *sing'ang'a*, returning with the leaves, which they pound and mix with water, and pour over the child, holding it over a pot in their house at night. The child swallows some of the medicine, and blood comes from its mouth and nostrils. The mother then takes it to her uncle or brother, in order to avert the suspicion naturally connected with a sudden death; and it usually dies the same night, and is buried next morning in the ordinary graveyard, and not apart in the bush, as is done in the case of other *a-mphalo* (persons dying a sudden or violent death). It is said that the child is sometimes killed by its father telling it to try a trap. The finger of the child is caught in the trap, and the father puts medicine on the finger, thereby causing the child to die. When the child is washed, the medicine which has passed over its body is caught in the pot beneath it, and is carefully preserved in a bottle, and subsequently sprinkled over the grain in the store or the plants in the field. A bone or skull of the victim is sometimes kept in the grain store, when it is known as *chisimba cha mafupa*. After the crime has been committed, the woman usually holds it over her husband's head to keep him faithful and to prevent him marrying a second wife; and a case which occurred as lately as 1925 was only brought to light two or three years afterwards for this reason. In this case, the man's original defence was that the death of the child was caused by a hammer-headed stork (*Scopus umbretta*) perching on the roof of the hut.

A harmless form of *mfumba* is made by stealing leaves of foodstuffs from another man's flourishing garden, and pounding them and mixing them with water. The owner of the medicine then pours it on his hands and walks round his garden, handling each plant in turn. Or, he pours it on his hands and feet, and rubs them on the floor and walls of the store before the grain is placed inside it. The failure of a crop is sometimes ascribed to one's wife's hands; and this may also be remedied by rubbing medicine into small cuts made on her arms. Another useful kind of medicine is made by cutting some pieces of *ruba* grass and putting them on the ground, where they attract other pieces of grass and leaves. The grass and leaves so attracted are pounded and used in the same way.

A common method of killing an enemy is by putting a fly or small bird in medicine and telling it to bite the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours. My Court Messenger corporal, who is a very intelligent native and attended King

* *Ku-tseketa* means to even up or cut to size, in this case breaking off the tips level with the skin.

Stannus, J.A.I., 1910, p. 283, dealing with natives rather farther north, gives *useketera* as a bundle of sticks taken by a doctor as part of the regular funeral ceremony to insert in the anus of the *mfiti*, the end being then broken off.

Garbutt, J.A.I., 1911, p. 301, describes a somewhat similar practice performed by a *mabisalila*. In Mlanje the word *mabisalvia* is used for a witchfinder generally, and the man who performs this particular ceremony is called a *seketera*. He may, of course, be a *mabisalvia* as well.

Edward's Coronation, informs me that, when he was a small boy, his uncle was killed in this way four hours after being bitten by a *timba* (small bird), and that a younger uncle, who aspired to the headmanship, was convicted of the crime by dying after taking *mwabvi*.

A. G. O. HODGSON.

Rhodesia: Burials.

Shropshire.

The Burial Customs of Wa Manyika Tribes. *By the Rev. Denys*
Shropshire.

264

The burial customs of the Wa Manyika tribe in the North East of Southern Rhodesia fall into three fairly clearly defined periods, as follows:—

(a) Kuchema (to weep or wail).

When the corpse has been washed the ceremony of Kupeta is performed, i.e. the arms are bound on the breast with the hands together in an upward position, the feet also being bound with knees upwards. Then the drums begin to beat, guns are fired (if deceased is a chief) and wailing begins. They dance the Marira dance and sing, "Oye, Oye, munosara mukarima mhandu yayenda zwawo" (You will dig your garden happily because the enemy has gone). This is an ironical song meant for the person supposed to have bewitched the deceased. Another song is, "Wanofa wakabarwa wamwe usweswe hunoruma" (They will die (but) others will take their place). They carefully watch the mubvuri (shadow of the dead person) to see if it remains. If it remains they go to a Diviner to know the reason, and he tells them what to do, e.g. in the case of one important old woman the people neglected to make a special bed for the corpse and to tie a goat to a leg of the bed according to the custom of her people, therefore the shadow did not depart until they had enquired about this from the Diviner and carried it out. When the shadow has departed, a ring called "Kusuma" is put on a wooden plate and shewn to all the relations, the person who shews it saying at the same time "Taputsika" (we are fallen). This is done to announce the death formally, otherwise they might be accused of killing the person. All who behold the ring answer "Tese" (all of us), i.e. we all know.

The Mukwambo (son-in-law)—it must not be a blood relation—now goes forth to look for a grave and a ledge of a rock is generally found. When this has been prepared the Mukwambo then returns to the house, leaving a few people behind to watch the grave. Others return with the Mukwambo to carry the corpse and bring the goat. When they arrive at the house they all kneel down and kuridza manja (clap hands ceremonially) and say to the deceased, "We are come to take you now to put you in your house" (Tawuya kuti timutore ne kuyisa mu umba wako). The corpse is placed on a stretcher of cloth and bamboo poles and carried to the grave, the people singing again the above-mentioned songs. Guns are fired again and there is a great wailing. Between the house and the grave they stop, place the corpse on the ground, sit round it in a circle and kuridza manja. This is done to give deceased a rest and to shew him that they are present. When they reach the grave they take a root of a tree and place it near the entrance to the grave. They then take wet mud and smear it round the inside of the place where the corpse will rest to keep him cool. The corpse is then received by the Mukwambo and placed in the grave lying on his right side so that he cannot kill people so easily with his left arm. Then they half close the grave, leaving an opening so that all the relatives, for the last time, can see the body lying in the grave. In the grave with the body they put ufu (mealie meal), water, a mat and a broken plate.

Then they close up the grave, placing a row of stones as a door. The badza (hoe) with which the grave was prepared is left under the top soil. The goat is then killed and roasted, no salt being used on this occasion. Then they take a branch of the Muminu tree and sweep round the grave, leaving the branch as a shade. All kneel down and kuridza manja, and the Mukwambo says, "Zwino iyi ndiyo umba

yako nechizwichengetawo iwe mbune" (this is now your house, you must not allow anything to dig out your body and take it off). Then all the relations take the root which had previously been placed at the entrance to the grave, and bite it in turn (*kuruma mutombo*). Only those who may not marry each other may bite this root, and if they do not do so they will become lepers. No wailing takes place at the grave, but when they leave the grave the wailing begins and continues until they reach the house. At the house the feast of *Bepu* (the feast of the helpers) is prepared. Then all return to their homes, and having washed, put medicine on their bodies. Meanwhile arrangements are made for

(b) *Kuchenura* (to cleanse or purify).

All the relatives bring *badzas* (hocs) and other presents and go to the *nganga*, who gives them different coloured beads (*gumbwa*), which each puts to his mouth, spits on them and says, "*Kuti ndirini ndakadhla baba, mayi, murume, mukoma, mwana, mukunda, ndiehisara pano.*" (If it is I who ate my father let me be taken by these charms.) This is a reference to the cutting of some flesh of the deceased for purposes of witchcraft, e.g. the little finger.

The *Nganga* then throws the *hakata* (divining bones) to detect the guilty one. If nobody is taken they will find out from the neighbours who killed deceased. When found the *Nganga* first puts *ufu* (mealie meal) on the heads of the innocent, but on the guilty, or his representative, it is merely put on the side of the head. The party of relatives now return home to drink the *Kuchenura* beer, some of which is given to other villagers and some left in the pots. The head of the family then proceeds to make known the message of the *Nganga*, but never mentions the name of the person who is guilty. If it is a relative he says, "*Wangu muroyi uri muchiwunu mwese mwese cheroranayiyni mvura*" (My witchcraft is in my belt, all of you give water to each other), i.e. do not be afraid. If it is a neighbour he says, "*Muroyi wangu nge we sango*" (my witchcraft is from the open fields). Then they finish the beer and set up a great wailing and dancing and singing for the dead person. Medicinal herbs are then put in a mortar and stamped, and water is mixed with them. The weapons and clothes of the dead man are now brought and placed out separately, and all, from the eldest to the youngest, touches them with the medicine which has been prepared. The dead man's bow is then placed in the hands of the eldest son and a calabash of beer is poured on his head, and these words are said, "*Wawuya uriwe* (here the name of the dead person is pronounced) *uchiyitawo munhu wakunambira unanyarara*" (You (name of dead person) must be a good man, and if you are irritated, keep quiet and do not fight as a youngster would).

He is then given presents by all the relatives and greeted with the words "*Wawuya uri we sekuru bambo wangu*" (Our elder, you have come as our father himself). All the debts of deceased are acknowledged and settled on this day. If not, then they are not reckoned. Then follows the distribution of *nhaka* (inheritance) wives. The *semukadzi* (sister of deceased) settles who is to marry the wives. The best are given to the eldest son and heir, though not his own mother. The women are told to warm water and bring it to the man who is to inherit and marry them. If he accepts a wife he receives the water from her and washes his face, but if he does not want her he refuses the water she brings. If he accepts, he sleeps with her that night.

All the mourners then shave their heads in front and at the sides. This is the real act of *Kuchenura*. No quarrelling may take place during *Kuchenura* or it may be taken as an accusation of witchcraft.

Then follows the third part of the Burial Customs, namely,

(c) *Tswitsa* (the guide to the place).

Some months elapse between these three sections of the Burial Customs, the whole extending over a period of about a year, or it may even be two or three years.

The ceremony of Tswitsa is the offering of beer to the deceased that he may be recognised by his ancestors and have something to offer them, and that he may have a pleasant journey to their abode.

All the near relatives are called and assemble in the house. The beer is placed on the chikuwa (a semi-circular raised piece of ant-heap about a foot high from the ground). The heir puts on a black cloth round his loins and a white cloth over his shoulders and goes to the chikuwa. All sit in silence for a short while. After they have clapped hands ceremonially and the women have made the mhururu sound by putting their hands to their mouth, the officiant rises and speaks to the deceased saying, "Doro iro baba wangu muchipano kuna hama dzenyu dzakatange mberi ndiyo tswitsa yenyu" (This is the beer of my father. You must give also to those who have passed on before you. This is the sacrifice of joining you with your ancestors). All kuridza manja and kuyita mhururu. The officiant then goes out of the hut for a few minutes and returns. The beer is then handed round and all drink of it. Finally they dance the tsuru dance (the dance of the spirits), drink the remaining beer and then disperse to their homes. DENYS SHROPSHIRE.

Africa, West: Names.

Harris.

Some Conventional Hausa Names. By Percy G. Harris.

265

The names given in the following list of conventional Hausa names represent those that must always be borne by persons of either sex born in the circumstances described. The Islamic connection is obvious in some cases, but otherwise the names are quite indigenous and are typical of the Hausa's philosophical and humorous outlook upon life. Some are birth names actually conferred (e.g., the Hassan class of names) but the rest are nicknames always borne whatever the birth-name may have been.

- AUTA The name given to the last-born child of either sex when it is obvious that the mother is past further child-bearing. A variant of this is "Dan Tsofuwa" (male) or "Yar Tsofuwa" (female)—"Child of an old woman."
- AJUJI The name given to the surviving child of a "wabi," or woman whose children are always dying. When the child is born the grandparents take it out to the refuse heap—"juji"—as it might just as well be thrown away if it is to follow the example of its predecessors, all of whom died. Having made their "gesture" against fate the mother runs out and reclaims her baby.
- BOYI Another name given to the surviving child of a "wabi." The child is hidden away ("boyi"—"to hide"). There may be some connection between this name and the story of Moses in the bulrushes.
- HASSAN (1) } Names given to male twins.
 HUSSEINI (2) }
- HASANA (1) } Names given to female twins.
 HUSEINA (2) }
- HASSAN (1) } Names given to male and female twins of which first born
 HUSEINA (2) } is the male.
 HASANA (1) } Names given to male and female twins of which first born
 HUSSEINI (2) } is the female.

This Hassan and Hussein group of names refers of course to the two sons of Ali the fourth Khalif.

- DELU } Names given to the first girl child born after three males.
 IGGI }

TANKO -	-	-	} Names given to the first male child born after three females.
TANKARI -	-	-	
GUMBO -	-	-	- Name given to male or female child born before twins.
GADDO -	-	-	- Name given to male or female child born after twins.
DARE -	-	-	- Name (meaning "night") given to male child born at night.
DAREN TUWO -	-	-	- Name given to female child born at night. "Tuwo" is the usual food eaten at night, and the meaning of the name is that the mother is preparing the nightly meal when her labour pains assail her, and she has to go inside her hut for the birth of her child.
TARANA -	-	-	- Name given to female child born by day ("Rana"—"day").
NAGUDU -	-	-	- "On the run." Name given to male child born to parents who are running away to escape war or a slave raid.
TAGUDU -	-	-	- Similar name given to female child.
MAZAWAJE -	-	-	- "The men are away." Name given to male child born when the father is away at war.
TAYAKI -	-	-	- Similar name, meaning "child of war," given to female child born when the father is away at war.
BAWA -	-	-	- "Slave." Name given to male child born in the month before either of the two great Muhammadan Festivals.
SAMBO -	-	-	- Name given to anyone whose birth name is Ali or Aliyu.
BUBA -	-	-	- Nickname for anyone whose birth name is Abubakr.
WAYA (m) -	-	-	{ The first two names are given to the male, and the third to the female, child of the second wife whose children have previously died, or who has continually had abortions, due, in her opinion, to the machinations of the jealous first wife. The etymology of the words is as follows:— Waya—"Wa yaya Allah" "Who is like unto God." Barmo—Barmini. "Leave to me" or "Let me have just this one." The rather pathetic cry of the second wife.
BARMO (m) -	-	-	
BARMINI (f) -	-	-	
NASAMU (m) -	-	-	- (cf. "Eureka") "I have found him." Name given to first slave owned by a young man determined to become a wealthy man.
RISKU (m) -	-	-	- "Prosperity." Name given to second slave.
ARZIKI (f) -	-	-	- "Prosperity." Name given to first female slave owned by a man.
NAGODE (f) -	-	-	- "I thank you." Name given to female slave given to a man as a present by his superior.
BABA DA RAI (m)	-	-	- "Father was alive then." Name given to a male slave bought for a son by his father.
ALLAH BA SARKI (m)	-	-	- "God reward the chief." Name given to male slave presented to a man by a chief.
DANGANA (m) -	-	-	- Name given to male slave of master who was an unsuccessful trader or farmer who eventually achieved riches. "Dangana"—"Patience."
NADOGARA (f) -	-	-	- Similar name with same meaning applied to female slave. "Na dogara"—"I lean upon (Allah implied)."
WANE DA YI (f) -	-	-	- This name is given to a female slave bought somewhat unexpectedly by a man previously thought to be poor. The meaning of the word is "Who can do aught"—

("save Allah" implied), and it is usual for the female slave when called "Wane da yi" to reply "Sai Allah"—"Save God."

BAMAYI - - - Similar name given to a male slave.

ZAMANGIRRA - - - Name given to female slave bought by second wife. The meaning of the word is "the existence of the eyebrow." Just as the eyebrow (the first wife) and the eye (the second wife) cannot be separated from one another, much as they dislike one another, so the second wife's slave girl cannot be taken away from her by the first wife, however much she dislikes her acquisition of such a possession.

As a number of these names are likely, with the changing times, to be disused or, which is more probable, to be used without any idea of their original meaning, it is thought that some record of them may be of value. P. G. HARRIS.

Rhodesia: Sociology.

Clarke.

Rough Notes on M'wemba Customs. By H. Stanley Clarke.

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Marriage.—(a) When a boy chooses his wife the old women give him a bow and an arrow and put up a target at which he shoots. If he misses the target he is not allowed to marry the girl—if he hits it he is allowed to.—William (Dona Kayalia—Moporokoso, N.R.)

(b) When a man marries a girl she makes a pot called an *imbusa*. Before they have sexual intercourse, this is filled with water and the leaves of herbs, and each of them take hold of it and carry it and put it on the central fire in the hut. When they have finished their love-making they go together and take the pot off the fire and wash their sexual organs. If this pot is broken they are not allowed to have sexual intercourse until the pot is remade. The pieces of the old pot are ground up, mixed with new clay and a new *imbusa* modelled.—(White Fathers Mission, Chilongo, N.R.)

(c) When a boy first lies with the new wife the villagers remain outside the hut. When he has finished the new wife gets as much semen as possible, goes to the door of the hut, and throws it out, whereupon all exclaim "indeed he is a man."—(G. N. Morton, Native Commissioner, Chienji.)

(d) In ordinary married life, after a husband has ejaculated, the woman smears her abdomen and breasts with the semen: this is supposed to assist in making her pregnant.—(G. N. Morton, N.C., Chienji.)

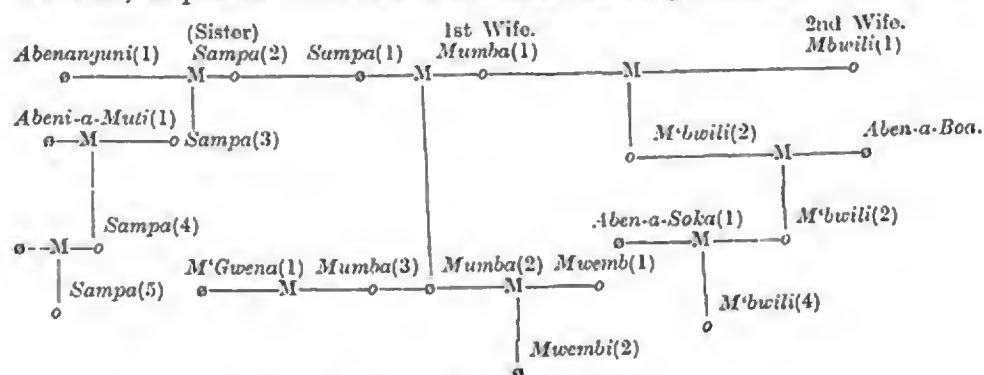
Childbirth.—(a) Expressions of obscenity are not allowed except in the case of the birth of twins.—(William, Dona Kayalia.) When twins are born they are placed in a basket where two paths cross and are left there till one child dies; the other is taken back and nursed.—(G. N. Lobb, Esq., Abercorn.) After the birth of twins at the cross paths where they were left a bush called Chitembushia is planted.—(Dona Kayalia.)

(b) If a child cuts its top teeth before the lower it is a bad omen, and it is left in the bush to die.—(Generally known.)

Initiation Rites.—(a) There are no initiation rites for boys ?—(Dona Kayalia.) Girls when they have their first menstruation are taken to a hut in the village, where they are instructed as to how to best please their husbands, and are told all about childbirth, which is demonstrated to them by old women. Their sexual organ is enlarged either with an artificial penis cut from the Mulombwa tree or from a tree called Mutimbwambusa, or with an artificial penis made from the leaves of Itchifumbi. During the initiation Rites a dance is given; the old women make horns from pot clay, through which they make noises like lions and leopards.—(The White Fathers Mission, Chilongo and Dona Kayalia.)

Path to Grave of Chiefs.—This is always a public highway. If a garden is planted across this path, when a chief dies and is being carried to his grave the boys tear up the crop which has been planted—even if one small patch encroaches on the path—that bit is destroyed.—(Dona Kayalia.)

Presents when a Chief has died.—There is a very complicated system of gifts made when a chief dies. I received a chicken and meal the other day on the death of a chief; at present I do not know what the rules are governing these presents.



Mwemb(2) can marry M'bwili(4).
 Mumba(2) can marry Sampa(3).
 Mwemb(2) cannot marry Sampa(3).
 Mwemb(2) cannot marry Sampa(4).
 Mumba(2) cannot marry Sampa(4).
 Mumba(2) can marry Sampa(5).
 Mwemb(2) cannot marry Sampa(5).
 Mwemb(2) can marry Mumba(2).

o is a male, o female.

I can in no way vouch for the correctness of this information, as I have had as yet no opportunity to check it. The names are all totems. I hope later to elaborate this and go further with it. Some of it puzzles me very much, and I think it must be wrong.
 H. STANLEY CLARK.

East-Anglia: Prehistory.

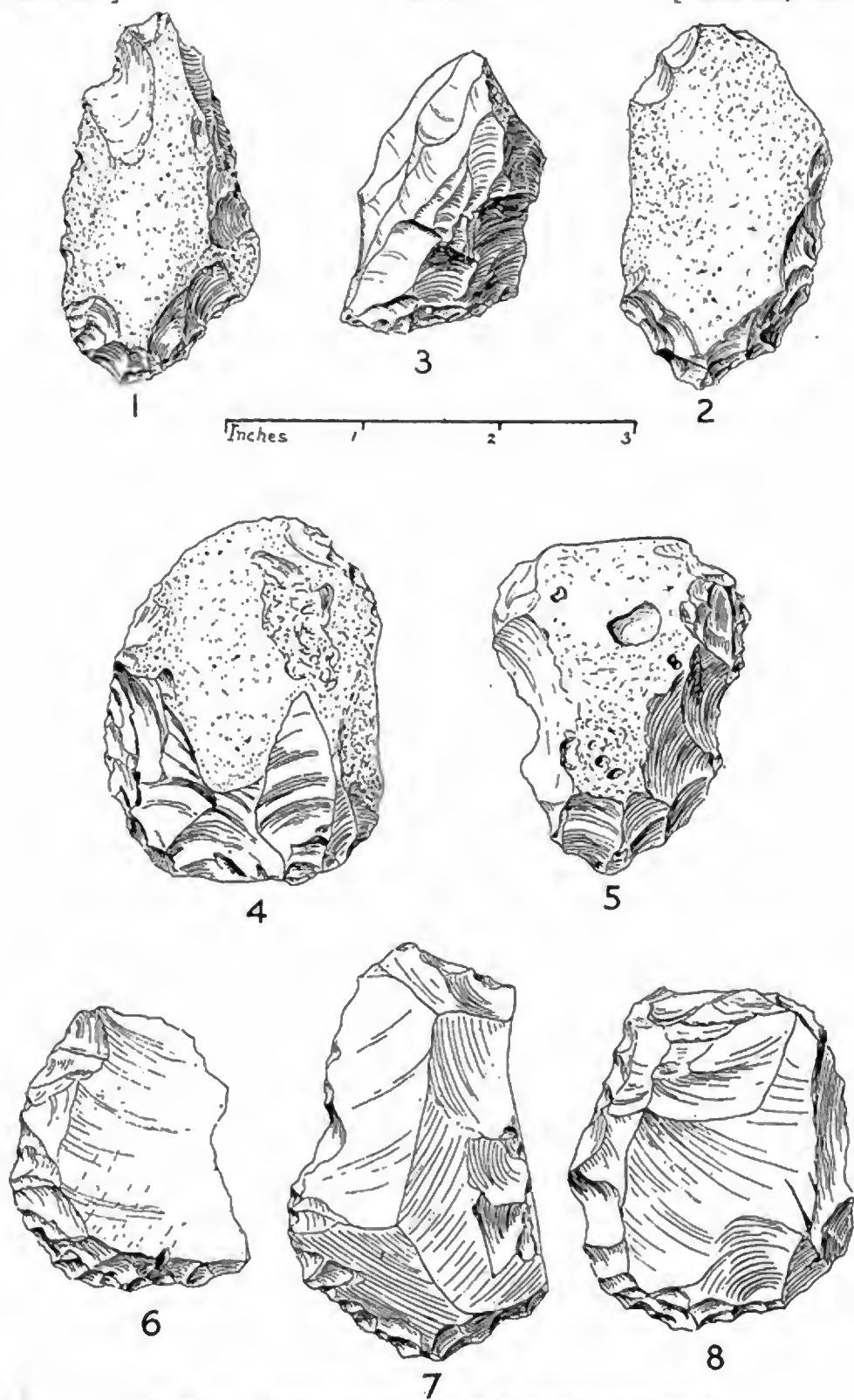
Solomon.

Palæolithic and Mesolithic Sites at Morston, Norfolk. By **267**
 J. D. Solomon.

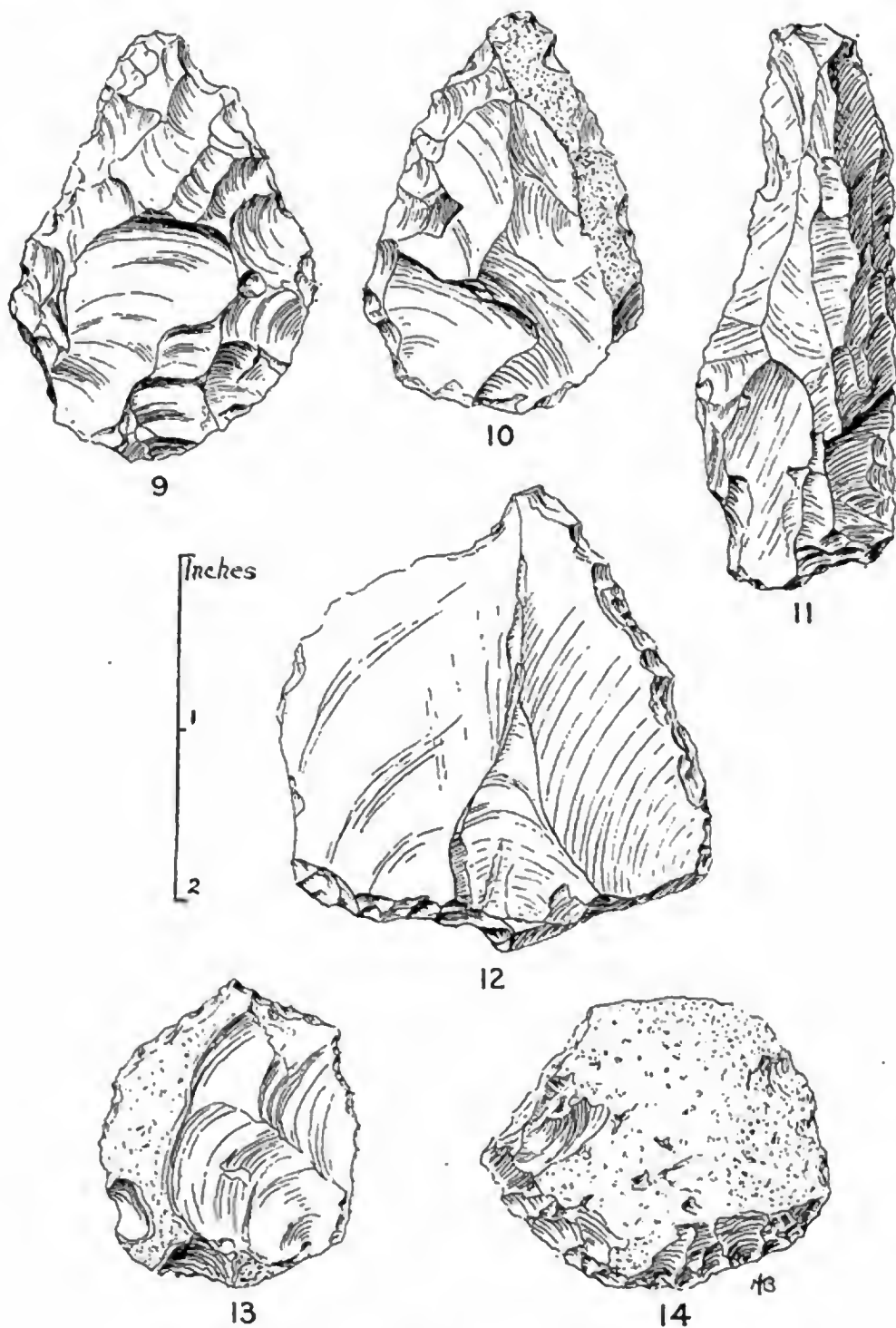
Between the villages of Morston and Stiffkey, on the North coast of Norfolk, there occurs an old shingle beach, some three miles in length, which has clearly been disturbed by glacial action and is overlain by a brown boulder clay similar to that from which Mr. J. Reid Moir has obtained Upper Palæolithic implements at Hunstanton and elsewhere. The beach is banked against esker gravel and other *débris* belonging to the Contorted Drift of the area, so that it is plain that the brown boulder clay belongs to an even later glaciation than the latter. The base of the beach is very nearly at present sea-level, showing that it is later than any important changes of sea-level on this coast.

The brown boulder clay is overlain by a soil containing flakes and implements belonging to the mesolithic culture described by Mr. J. E. Sainty at Kelling; these are of grey flint and practically unpatinated. They do not occur in the boulder clay itself but are to be found in considerable quantity above it.

On a field some 200 yards south of the beach, at the point where it is cut through by the Stiffkey River, there are many artifacts which appear to belong to an early Aurignacian culture. The only implements so far obtained are end-scrapers which are certainly not earlier than Upper Palæolithic. Cores are numerous, and some of them approximate in type to rough choppers. The flakes are mostly rather rough, up to



FIGS. 1-8.—PALEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS FROM MORSTON, NORFOLK.
 Drawn by Mrs. M. C. Burkett.



FIGS. 9-13.—PALÆOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS FROM MORSTON, NORFOLK
Drawn by Mrs. M. C. Burkett.

four inches in length, and sometimes possess a roughly prepared striking platform—not, however, of Mousterian type. These artifacts are mostly made of a dark grey flint which has patinated either bluish or white; a few, however, are of lighter flint which has patinated only slightly.

It would appear that this industry is earlier than the brown boulder clay, and it is hoped that a small amount of excavation will definitely settle this question; in any event, the site would appear to be an important one in linking up the later stages of the history of the glacial periods of Great Britain. J. D. SOLOMON.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SPECIMENS, 1-14.

1. A nosed, scraper-like implement with very steep, undercut edge-work. The basal flake is of thermal origin. Material—dark grey flint; Patination—dark blue, somewhat mottled.

2. Similar in type to the preceding. Material—dark grey flint; Patination—thick bluish white.

3. Core, or Core-Burin. The base is a percussion-flake; much cortex remains on the face of the implement, not shown in the figure. There is trimming of burin type at both ends of the specimen. Material—grey flint; Patination—uneven, dead white in places, very slight in others, owing to uneven quality of the flint.

4. Chopper. This implement is roughly flaked on the under-surface, the object being apparently to produce a chopping edge. Maximum thickness, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Material—dark grey flint; Patination—white.

5. Rough core-impliment, rudely flaked on the under-surface. Maximum thickness, 2 inches. Material, dark grey flint; Patination—pale blue mottled, with patches free from patination, similar to 3.

6. Scraper, in type intermediate between Racloir and Grattoir. The flake has a faceted butt, but not of Mousterian type. Material—grey flint; Patination—white.

7. Largo, rough end-scraper. Material—dark grey flint; Patination, white.

8. Well-made end-scraper with roughly faceted striking platform. Material—grey flint; Patination, irregular, as 3.

9. Triangular point, of Mousterian appearance, but without the characteristic striking platform. There is secondary working on both faces of the main flake, giving a suggestion of a proto-Solutrean type. Maximum thickness, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Material—pale grey flint; Patination—very slight.

10. Triangular flake with secondary working along both edges—possibly an unfinished point. The striking platform is not faceted. Material—grey flint; Patination—bluish white, irregular, as 3.

11. Long, thick, steep-sided flake with much secondary trimming, especially round the narrower end. Maximum thickness, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Material—dark grey flint; Patination—greyish blue.

12. Large triangular flake, with roughly prepared striking platform, worked into a crude point. Material—grey flint; Patination—white.

13. Square-ended scraper. Material—dark grey flint; Patination—mottled bluish-white.

14. Broad end-scraper, on thick flake (over $\frac{1}{2}$ inch) with much of the cortex remaining. Material—dark grey flint; Patination—mottled bluish white.

East Africa: Ethnography.

A Mkamba Mwanake (Warrior).*

1. The head is shaved as shown, two narrow partings being cut with a sharp knife, and the hair trimmed to form three patches as shown, the largest of the three being the centre, the smaller side patches being equal in size. The head is plastered with clay. The favourite colour is a brick red, but a buff-coloured clay is very often seen. It is said to be found nearer the surface than the red clay. They are both called "Mbu." The clay ends in front, about half an inch further down than the hair, and the edge of the clay is parallel to the edge of the hair. The little tufts of hair stand upright on the head.

2. The eyebrows are removed with a knife. Sometimes a $\frac{1}{2}$ inch is left, then $\frac{1}{4}$ inch shaved, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch left, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch shaved, etc.; but complete removal is more common.

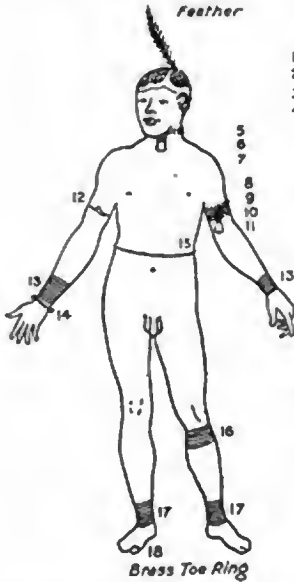
The eyelashes are removed with tweezers. These are called "Ngosē ya mētho."

* The description of a Mkamba warrior (*Mwanake*) which follows was accepted and set in type in 1924, but by some accident the writer's name was not printed, and the relevant correspondence has been mislaid. If the writer will forgive this lapse and acknowledge his work, his name will be recorded gratefully and without delay.

The Akamba tribe live south of the Tana river, in the south-east part of Kenya.

3. Small wooden pegs are inserted in the lobe of each ear. These are called "Kilungu" (a). Earrings are often worn. These are called "Ibulu" and are either of aluminium or cow horn (b).

4. The four middle teeth in the upper jaw are either filed to sharp points (this is more common around Machakos)—sometimes six are filed, or the middle two are shaped to leave a gap between. The middle two teeth in the lower jaw are removed (a).



5. Two strings of bright red beads which are about the size of a small pea and are covered with diamond-shaped facets. These are called "Nzalamih" (a).

6. A small copper chain is suspended from 5 above and goes round five times. (All chains are called "Munyu.") This chain supports—

7. A piece of white cow horn, inlaid with black dots, made by driving in small pegs of the "Mupingo" tree, which are cut off flush with the surface of the horn. This ornament is called "Ibuba" (a).

8. A string of small spherical beads, "gold" and blue alternately. The "gold" beads are called "Malwoya," and the blue "Mumu" (a).

9. A small brass chain ("Munyu") wound round the arm five times. This is the same size as 6 above.

10. A small chain of brass and copper supporting

11 below and made in such a way that the visible parts are brass and copper alternately. Five pieces of the chain are visible.

11. "Ibuba." Similar to 7 above.

12. A small iron chain, in size similar to 10 above and threaded through two holes in the horn of a Dik-Dik. The Dik-Dik is called "Mbee." It is a charm and contains matter of a magical nature.

13. Small chains of brass and copper alternately, extending above the wrist for seven inches. All these small chains are the same size as 6, 9, and 10 above. Eleven widths of the chain go to an inch.

14. Large amber-coloured glass beads strung on a piece of copper wire.

15. A long piece of brass wire wound closely in spiral form which encircles the waist (a).

16 and 17. Brass chains of same size and similar to others mentioned above.

18. Brass toe-ring.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Egypt.

Blackman.

Medicine and Magic among the Egyptian Fellahin. Exhibit of
Specimens collected by Miss Winifred Blackman: 13th October, 1931.

269

These specimens were collected for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, and will be exhibited there eventually.

Australia.

Hackett.

Aborigines of Central Australia. Summary of a Communication by
Dr. C. J. Hackett: 20th October, 1931.

270

Early in 1927 Dr. Hackett directed the work of a team of Adelaide men in Central Australia under the auspices of the University of Adelaide Board of

Anthropology. Dr. T. D. Campbell was in charge of the physical anthropology, Professor J. B. Cleland studied blood-grouping, Dr. W. Ray made physiological observations, and Professor H. Davies the aboriginals' music.

A cinematograph film recorded the type of country inhabited by the Arunta tribe; a few attainments, such as shelter building, hair-string making and fire making; and some of the ceremonies performed at the circumcision ceremony; and records were performed of aboriginal songs collected by Professor Davies.

Research Medal.

Wellcome.

The Wellcome Gold Medal for an Anthropological Research Essay.

271

The President has received from Dr. Henry S. Wellcome the following generous offer of a Gold Medal for an Anthropological Research Essay.

To the President,

Royal Anthropological Institute.

54, Wigmore Street,

Cavendish Square,

London, W.1.

Dear Mr. President,

I have very great pleasure in confirming my offer to found a gold medal to be awarded annually by the Royal Anthropological Institute for the best anthropological research essay, subject to the conditions governing the award, which have been agreed to by your Council and myself, a signed copy of which I attach herewith.

I am therefore making the necessary arrangements so that the first award of the medal can be made in 1932.

I am, yours truly,

HENRY S. WELLCOME.

THE WELLCOME MEDAL.

1. There shall be a Medal known as the Wellcome Gold Medal for Anthropological Research.

2. The Medal shall be awarded annually, subject to conditions hereinafter provided, for the best research essay on the application of anthropological methods to the problems of native peoples, particularly those arising from intercourse between native peoples, or between primitive natives and civilized races.

3. The Medal shall be awarded by the Royal Anthropological Institute on the recommendation of a Medal Committee to be constituted as hereinafter provided.

4. The Medal Committee shall consist of the President of the Royal Anthropological Institute for the time being as chairman, the Conservator of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum for the time being, and three members to be nominated respectively, for a period of three years, by the Presidents of the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Royal Empire Society and the African Society.

5. The Medal shall be open to competition among all nationalities, and shall be announced at least once annually in the publications of the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Royal Empire Society and the African Society.

6. The essays must be of moderate length. They must be submitted in English, in triplicate copies, at the office of the Royal Anthropological Institute on or before the first day of January of the year in which they are to be considered by the Committee.

7. The Medals will be awarded at the annual meetings of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

8. The Medal Committee may appoint on any occasion a referee or referees, but no award shall be made except on the recommendation of the Medal Committee to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

9. Provided, in any year, no essay shall have been submitted which in the opinion of the Medal Committee attains such a standard as to justify the award of the Medal, no award shall be made.

10. Any person to whom a Medal has not been already awarded, may submit an essay for competition in any subsequent year.

11. Every essay for which a Medal has been awarded shall, if unpublished, be submitted for publication by the Royal Anthropological Institute unless otherwise decided by the Medal Committee.

Agreed. HENRY S. WELLCOME.

The Fellows of the Institute will join heartily with the President and Council in expressing their gratitude to Dr. Wellcome for this munificent encouragement to anthropological research.

OPEN PUBLIC LECTURES.

Delivered at University College, London.

India.

Public Lectures.

I. India, Past and Present. *By the Marquess of Zeland: 12th October, 1931.* **272**

From each of three points of view—geographical, ethnological and historical—India is complex. Its great length and breadth comprise very varied types of country and an immense range of climates. From this geographical variety arise the differences of economic and social organization which make all Indian problems so difficult to solve. This section of the lecture was illustrated by a series of beautiful slides taken by the lecturer himself. Ethnologically India was also complex, and also linguistically. Apart from the three basic languages existing in India, the variety of local dialects is enormous. Furthermore, the occupational and sectarian aspects of the caste-system as it exists are a further complication. Lastly, India had suffered invasion after invasion. Most of her invaders she has successfully assimilated, but the culture of Islam has remained very much a thing apart. Above this are now being superimposed western thought and standards, and western modes of living.

II. Kings and Emperors of Ancient India. *By Professor F. W. Thomas: 19th October, 1931.* **273**

The Indian princes were the inheritors of a great tradition, the accomplishments of which were a challenge to the wholesale application of western democracy to a country as disunited as India. As patrons of the arts and learning, royalty has in many ways been the fount and origin of Indian culture, and the means of its development. Asoka, Kanishka, the Gupta emperors and Harsha of Kanauj were active instruments in Indian history. Professor Thomas showed slides of the city palaces of Rajputana and of the ancient palaces illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes.

III. Indian Sculpture. *By K. de B. Codrington: 26th October, 1931.* **274**

Indian sculpture showed uniform development. The distribution of the monuments of the various periods, grouped about the centres of political power, progressed from the Ganges valley in the second century B.C. to the extreme south in the seventeenth century. Such a uniform development was a witness of a certain cultural unity. Although India was admittedly complex, its complexity was not merely geographical, linguistic or ethnological. It was a radical difference of mind, function and organization, the difference between the city-dweller and the country-dweller and the hill- and forest-dwellers, isolated by their tribal organization. The

ancient dynasties, which carried workmen of the southern guilds a thousand miles across the Deccan, were not national, but confederacies of diverse interests on an enormous scale. To these great confederacies Indian sculpture and architecture owe their development. A large number of slides, taken by Mr. Codrington, illustrated Indian sculpture, temples and sites from the earliest times to the eighth century, which he claimed to be the apex of the art, an acquaintance with which was so radically affecting modern sculpture.

REVIEWS.

Melanesia.

Leenhardt.

Notes d'Ethnologie Néo-Calédonienne. 275
By Maurice Leenhardt. Paris: Institut
d'Ethnologie, 1930, pp. 1-265, pls. I-XXXVI,
2 maps.

Although much has been written about New Caledonia, there is very little reliable information about the sociology and religion of the people, so the investigations of M. Leenhardt, who has been a missionary there for twenty-five years, are very welcome. Unfortunately, as his title implies, he does not cover the whole field and his accounts are not always very precise, but he has given us very valuable information which we can unreservedly accept. There are 48 illustrations in the text; some are drawn by natives which are instructive in various ways and the perspective drawings which are given elucidate some of them. The thirty-six photographic plates, four of which are coloured, illustrate a large number of scenes and objects.

The chief subjects dealt with are houses, warfare, currency, society, cultivation of taro and yams, initiation, the *pilou pilou*, totems, gods, and magic. It is only possible to allude to a few matters.

A man has a profound attachment for his maternal totem, he is affected, even to tears, if it is spoken of unfavourably, and if it is praised he is flattered; he himself speaks of it with affection and deference. The paternal totem, which may be eaten, plays no part, since the father has no apparent essential function in the dispensation of life; the maternal uncle is the fountain of life. Thus the true family is that which is united, not by paternal blood which plays no apparent part, but by the maternal blood which flows at birth. This is a river of life that flows through "the generations by virtue of this concrete being, the totem, the name of which includes in a single concept all that we understand by the terms 'spirit of the dead,' 'spirit,' 'life,' and from it proceeds all life," success in cultivation, and all that makes for the well-being of mankind.

With the exception of thunder, wind, wind and the shark, the totems do not present any notable characteristic, it is always an animal or plant of humid places, water, wind charged with rain, or thunder which implies storms. All are present in the human urine, rain is "the urine of the gods" [doubtless ancestral spirits]. Totems reside in a mountain, group of rocks, springs, and frequent the back part of the hillock of the woman's house. In the

absence of their owners they inhabit abandoned houses which no one dare enter except the master of the totem, who reassures the totem concerning the newcomers. In the living, the totem resides in the neck, back, the breast of the maternal grandfather, it appears diffused in all that emanates from the human body and even in all that is in permanent contact with him. [The "totem" is in this respect analogous to the soul-stuff of other peoples.] If a totem is a caterpillar or lizard, etc., the mourners wait for the spirit of the dead man in this totemic form, surprise it as it comes creeping after the corpse, seize it and plunge it into water, where it is petrified; this stone is preserved near the altar, it contains the spirit of the ancestor and proceeds from the totem. All over the north part of the island the spirit of a living or of a dead man and the totem are called by the same name, *ka, nawa, nye*, etc. The cult of the totem comprises altars and sacrifices, on some altar uncooked offerings are made and on others boiled food. It is clearly seen from the legends that some of them refer to a period before the introduction of pottery, and boiled food. "The gods are made by men, the totems "proceed from women."

The *pilou pilou* is the pivotal ceremony of the people, of which only episodes have previously been recorded, so that an account of the whole proceedings is very welcome. It is here possible to give only a mere outline, but the details are full of significance. Three years are required to make all the preparations and to accumulate the requisite food. It takes place in a reconstructed abandoned village or huts are erected on a new site. An altar is installed in a small hut for the sacrificer and the first sacrifice is made to dedicate the hut; those who helped to build it enter first.

Each period consists of five days, or rather nights, which are reckoned as a unit (in the funeral ceremonies there are four groups of five rites). Each unit is inaugurated by a sacrifice. [Although he does not say so, it seems probable that the sacrifice was originally a cannibal feast.] The neighbouring allied groups on the paternal side act with the clan that gives the *pilou* and the latter invite allied groups on the maternal side, other clans may be invited, but these have a subsidiary position. The first period is devoted to the opening of the bundles of yams of the paternal groups, these are arranged in heaps along the long, narrow ceremonial ground. The second period is that of the arrival of the maternal groups and a presentation of the harvest,

and the food is portioned out to them in the third period.

During the preliminary part and the first period, the men who are in mourning retire to the ossuary in the forest and clean the skulls and arrange them on the stones and lay on them an old carved and ornamented mask to attract the attention of the "gods"; this rite makes the living happy and ensures the birth of children. They are joined by the initiates who had been superincised a few weeks previously and who are treated as new-born infants. Together they repair to the symbolically decorated ground, where the initiates are received with mock anger.

Subsequently the guests arrive from afar in great form but are met with a mock, but sometimes dangerous, fight. Among these is the visiting orator, a "great son" of the maternal and paternal groups who will later be the headman of the clan and is thus introduced to and recognized by his kinsmen, or failing him, an orator whom the maternal groups have not yet heard speak. Then the great feast takes place. The mourners are freed from all taboos and they place their mourning turbans on poles and there is a great dance at which it appears licence might be allowed and even fighting might take place; but usually it was a peaceful religious dance. The next day payment is made to the maternal uncles for the release of mourning taboos and initiation fees are paid. The young people of the paternal group have sent bouquets of straw *poeti* to those of the maternal group and the latter in return perform a series of mimetic dances which form the most remarkable episode of the *pilou*. It is in these war dances that the characteristic masks of the New Caledonians are worn.

The function of no *pilou* is evidently to honour the dead so as to bring about prosperity, happiness, and the birth of children; the release from mourning taboos and the reception of the initiates into the community of adult men. In addition, the paternal groups entertain the maternal groups and the clansmen from afar are welcomed and recognized as of the same kin. We thus have the final and friendly severance of the recent dead from

the living, the readmittance of the mourners into everyday life, the admittance of the young men into tribal life, and the affirmation of the solidarity of the clans. All these features occur in other Melanesian communities and even among peoples, such as the Torres Straits islanders, who are not Melanesian by race.

It would be interesting to make a study of the practices and artifacts that are peculiar to the northern part of the island, as this region seems to have been strongly influenced by an immigrant culture which was characterized, among other traits, by coiled pottery (p. 33), special huts for menstruating women (p. 9), and the isolation of girls at puberty in those huts (p. 141), masks (fn. p. 239), and the submarine home of the dead (p. 216).

A. C. HADDON.

Ethnography.

Leyburn.

Handbook of Ethnography. By James G. Leyburn. Pp. vii + 323. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1931. Price 22s. 6d. net.

This useful little book is an alphabetical list of the more important peoples of the world, together with their locations and a selection of geographical material of use to the general reader and to the ethnologist.

As a work of reference the book is certainly of some utility, but as the information it provides is of the slightest possible description, further details would have to be sought elsewhere. It will be found primarily of service to those members of the reading public who are often bewildered by the mention of tribes and peoples whose homes are entirely unknown. By referring to this manual the puzzled reader will be immediately informed as to where such and such a tribe lives, or has lived, and thereby will be saved the trouble of hunting up the facts in encyclopædias and gazetteers. Moreover, by looking at the maps at the end of the volume a rough idea will be obtained as to the location of various tribes mentioned, since the references in the text relate to the letters and figures on the maps. E. J. DINGWALL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

History of Science.

Hocart.

The History of Physics.

277

SIR.—The International Congress of the History of Science should call attention to a somewhat neglected side of anthropology, the development of scientific thought. Reports on customs of the world are apt to dwell on the supernatural side to the exclusion of other lines of thought. In consequence they give us a distorted view of so-called "savages" as if they stood in marked contrast to the so-called "civilized" as thinking entirely in terms of supernatural. I should be the last to minimize the importance which the supernatural has played in human thought; modern science has some of its roots in it (as witness

alchemy and astrology), but not all. Pure physics are probably exceedingly ancient. How ancient we shall only know when we have studied them all over the world. I would not like to generalize from one set of "savages" to another, but it is highly improbable that the Fijians are the only people outside the pale of European and Asiatic civilization who can think in terms of pure physics. I have in my "Lau Islands" (pp. 102) reported word for word the opinions of a yam expert, named, by an ironical fate, Ben Famine. His system is pure physics, all hot and cold, hard and soft. It is, in addition, experimental. It may be very thin, but it shows that his people are not always looking

for causes in the sphere of personal concepts. Charms only explain the exceptions, unaccountable successes and failures, not the common routine of growth.

If ever we are to trace the growth of physics from its earliest beginnings down to Einstein we must get hold of all the Ben Farnices in the world and put on record their opinions. A comparative study of them all may give us a picture of man's first attempts in this direction, just as a comparative study of all Indo-European languages has told us what the remote ancestor of English and French was like. A. M. HOCART.

Bride Price. Driberg: Raglan.

SIR,—Referring to Lord Raglan's letter (MAN, 1931, 233), I am at a loss to understand what relevance a statement concerning the Nandi has to the conditions of marriage existing in the tribes which were previously under discussion. The remark that among the Nandi "a husband can demand the return of the cattle after he has divorced his wife, provided he can find another husband for her" gives a very incomplete picture of the true position, which is more fully and accurately described by Hollis ("The Nandi," p. 69).

It is possible that Mr. Huntingford, in writing that "the Nandi definitely regard girls as a source of wealth" (MAN, 1931, 187), has again paid tribute to brevity rather than to completeness, as such a view does not accord with the general trend of informed opinion. If this is really the case, perhaps he would be good enough to give fuller details and to show what the position of women among the Nandi really is, and whether their conception of marriage and bride-wealth has altered as the result of modern economic conditions. J. H. DRIBERG.

SIR,—In MAN, 1931, 260, Mr. Cullen Young states that there is in the Tumbuka dialect an exact equivalent for "equilibrium guaranteed," and cites a word which he translates as "causes to be in a state of equality." It seems necessary to point out that equilibrium is not a state of equality, and a guarantee is not a cause.

The idea in Mr. Young's mind is, of course, clear, but it is doubtful whether the phrase he has chosen is calculated to convey it. To me, for example, the phrase suggests an insurance policy taken out by a tight-rope performer.

The fact seems to be overlooked, not only by Mr. Young, that bride-price, whatever ideas may be supposed to lie behind it, is a payment; any suggested equivalent which fails to convey this fact is misleading. RAGLAN.

Britain: Prehistoric.

Myres.

A Correction as to Date of Excavations at Avebury.

SIR,—Mr. H. St. George Gray reminds me that the excavations at Avebury which he described to the British Association

in September last (MAN, 1931, 249) were carried out by him, not in 1901-02, but in 1908, 1909, 1911, 1914, and 1922, and that interim reports, with a considerable amount of detail, have been published by the British Association.

I owe him an apology for having assigned to the excavations at Avebury the date of appointment of the British Association's Committee "On the Age of Stone-Circles," and described his announcement as "long-delayed"; and everyone will welcome his announcement that he has a "fully illustrated" book in preparation. JOHN L. MYRES.

Physiology.

Bothwell.

Physiological Paternity in the Trobriands. [cf. MAN, 1931, 162, 240.]

SIR,—The authors referred to by Mr. Gaskell (MAN, 1931, 240) were doubtless only acquainted with, and writing for, certain European races. In Sir Richard Burton's translation of the "Ananga Ranga" (Kama Shastra Society), p. 127, the Hindu wife is especially enjoined to exercise this muscular power, and the translator says, in a footnote, "Amongst some races the constrictor vaginae muscles are abnormally developed," and he gives an instance of the extreme development of these muscles amongst the Abyssinian women and the value the Arabs place upon it. He adds: "All women have more or less the power, but they wholly neglect it; indeed, there are many races in Europe which have never even heard of it."

Sir Richard did not say that he heard of this power being used for contraceptive purposes, but I have known of an American woman who said she always used this method and that she learned of it in India. Paris, 2, Rue Bréa. A. BOTHWELL.

Couvade.

Hocart.

SIR,—In connection with the correspondence on the *couvade* (MAN, 1931, 16, 33, 59, 90, 107, and especially 203), may I draw attention to Mr. C. H. Bompas' "A New Explanation of the *Couvade*," *Journ. Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, II, p. 384? He did the right thing and asked his Ito what this theory was, and got the reply, "Because the life has gone out of the man."

That may be a reinterpretation, a false etymology. It may also be right. It is therefore worth trying as a working hypothesis. I am inclined to think that, if not right, at least it comes nearer to the original reason than anything I have so far come across. It opens up a new line of investigation which links it up with more familiar doctrines.

A. M. HOCART.

Acknowledgment.

The Editor of MAN regrets that the map illustrating MAN, 1931, 209, was not there acknowledged as due to the courtesy of the Editor of "Antiquity," who kindly permitted its reproduction from Vol. IV, p. 154.



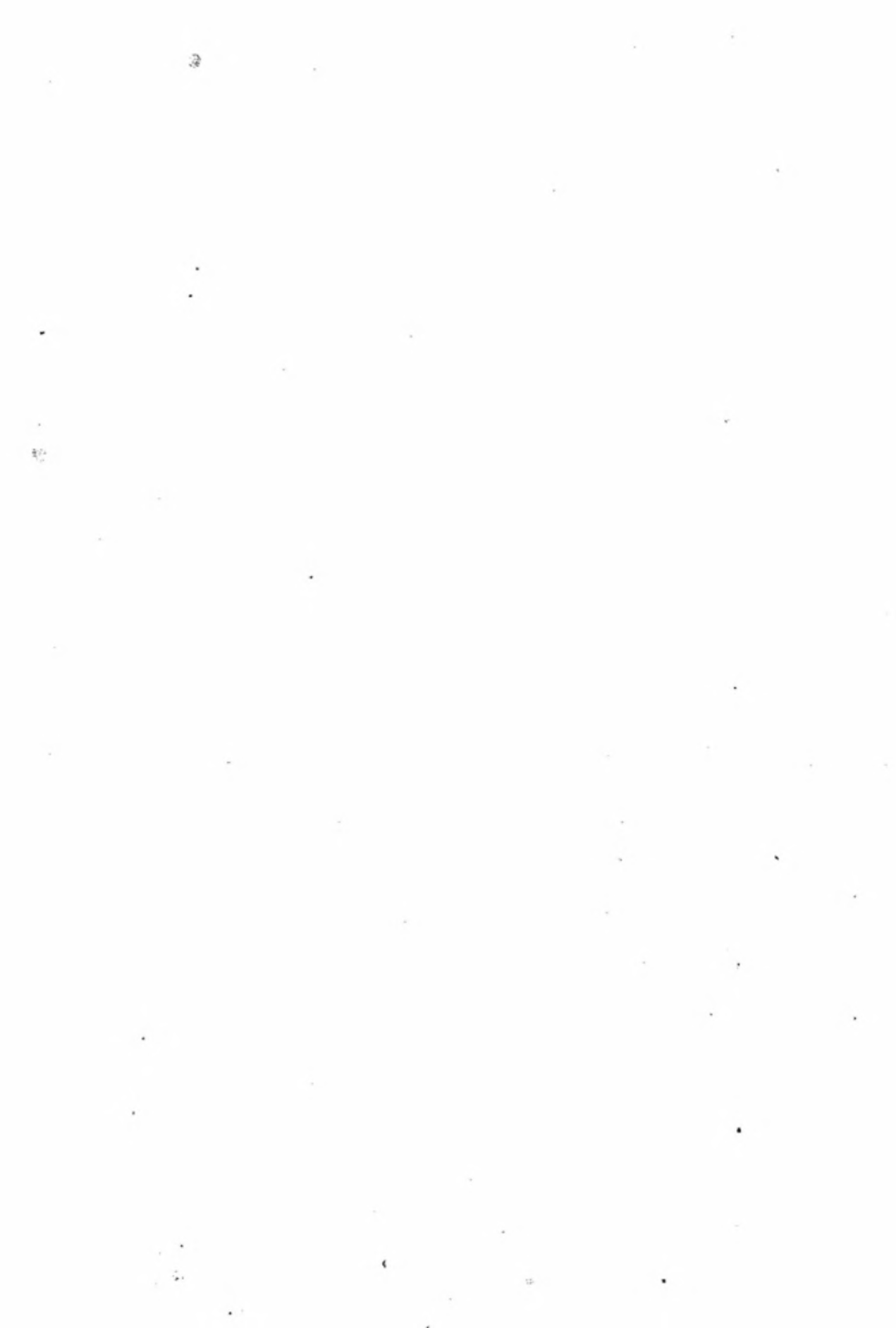
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

This Institute was established in 1871 by the amalgamation of the older Anthropological Society and Ethnological Society. It has for its object the promotion of the Science of Man and Anthropology by the accumulation of observations bearing on man's past history and present state in all parts of the globe. It investigates, in a rigorously exact manner, everything that can throw light upon the laws of man's nature, his origin, history and capabilities of progressive development and civilization. It studies him structurally and psychologically, under the several types in which he is found in various regions, and comparatively, in relation to the rest of the animal kingdom. The ultimate object of the Institute, therefore, is to build up a Science of Man on a basis of well-ascertained fact, and logically deduced inference. As means to this end, the Council of the Institute has adopted a plan of operations, the principal heads of which are as follows:

1. Meetings for the reading of papers and for discussion of anthropological questions.
2. The issue of a *Journal* containing Reports of the Proceedings at the Meetings with other matters of anthropological interest.
3. The appointment of Local Correspondents in all parts of the world to collect information and to aid the Institute in its operations.
4. The maintenance of a library which contains sets of all the principal anthropological Journals published in the United Kingdom or elsewhere, besides a large and valuable collection of books of reference, travels and researches, an extensive collection of photographs and lantern slides, and much unpublished material for the use of students of Anthropology. Fellows residing in the country, as well as in London, can borrow books from the library.
5. The appointment of a Committee for conduct special investigations, as occasion offers, in the various branches of Anthropology.
6. Co-operation with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and with foreign scientific committees, anthropological investigations, organization with individuals and associations in aid of exploration, and in the establishment of local centres of anthropological study, and generally the stimulation of individual and local efforts to further the objects of the Institute.

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